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IN ENGLAND



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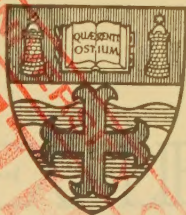
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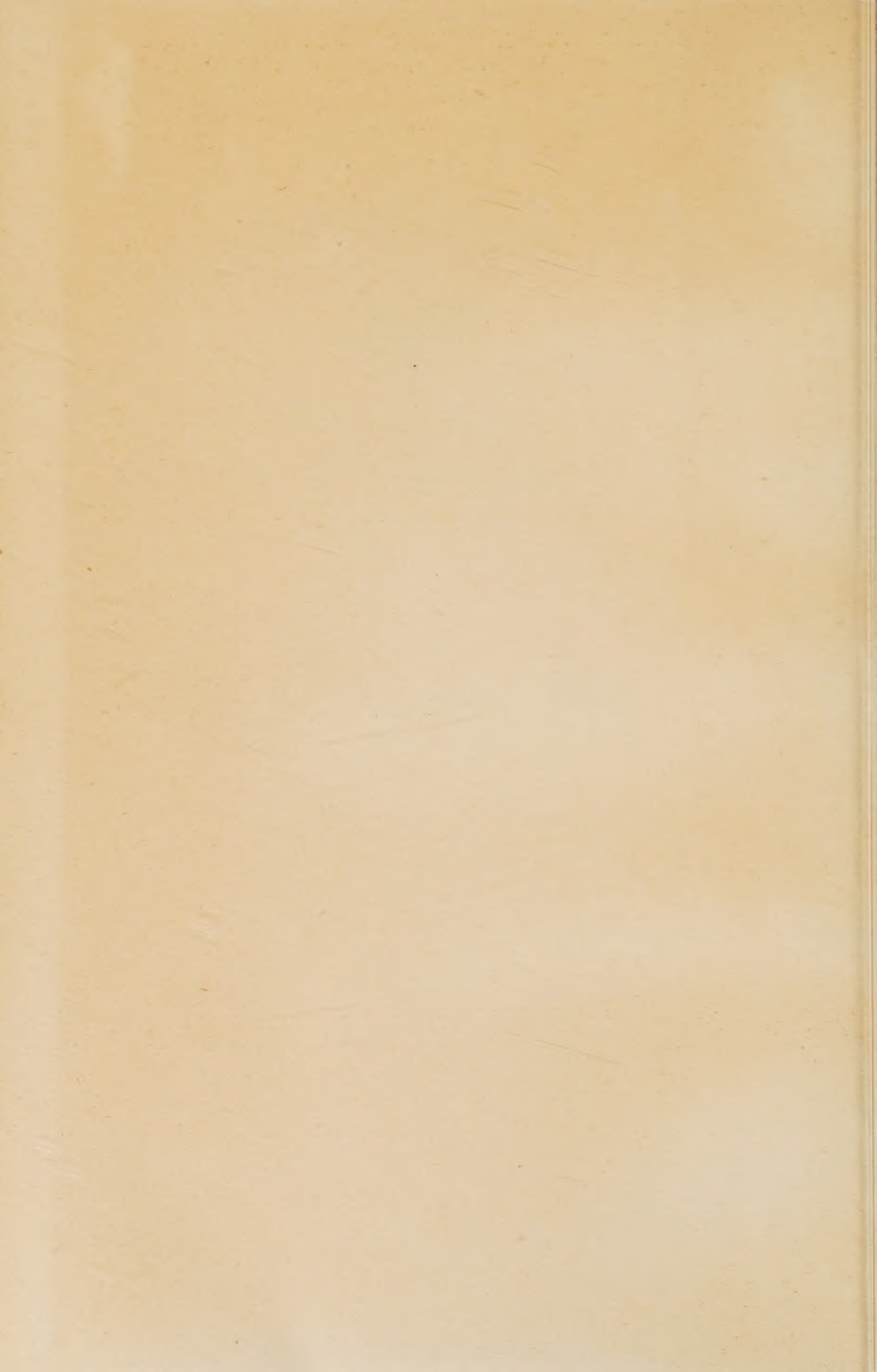
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THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN
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(At the Review of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, 1912.)

HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.
SOVEREIGN HEAD AND PATRON OF THE ORDER.
GRAND PRIOR OF ENGLAND, 1901-1910.

THE GRAND PRIORY
OF
The Order of the Hospital of
St. John of Jerusalem
in England.

A SHORT HISTORY

By
Colonel E. J. KING, C.M.G., F.S.A.
Knight of Grace of the Order.

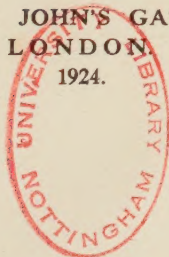
With
a Foreword by
Major-Gen. The EARL OF SCARBROUGH, G.B.E., K.C.B., A.D.C., F.S.A
Sub-Prior of the Order.

THE
ANCIENT
SEAL



OF
THE
PRIORY

ST. JOHN'S GATE
LONDON.
1924.



THE GRAND PRISON

The Order of the Hospital of

St. John of Jerusalem

in England

A SHORT HISTORY

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FOREWORD.

IN writing this brief, but most carefully compiled, History of the Order, Colonel King has ably and faithfully carried out a desire expressed that the part played by the English Branch in ancient times and in its present day work should be brought prominently before our countrymen and women, and more particularly before our members and workers at home and overseas.

The revival of the Order in England has inspired a corresponding spirit of service in the Dominions and Colonies of the British Empire, where quietly and systematically the pioneer ambulance work of St. John is being organised and developed.

This glimpse into the past and present activities of the Grand Priory in England records faithful and devoted service to mankind in peace and war covering a period of over eight hundred years. That it may serve as an encouragement to all of this generation who are zealous in the cause of humanity to further the progress of our work throughout the Empire, is the earnest hope of the Grand Prior and Chapter-General of the Order.

SCARBROUGH,

Sub-Prior.

St. John's Gate,

Clerkenwell.

April, 1924.

PREFACE.

THE Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem has had one great historian, the Abbé Vertot.

In the opening phrases of his famous work, he gives the reasons why this venerable order has always excited the admiration and interest of mankind. To repeat those phrases here needs no apology. "The History I have taken upon me to write is that of a fraternity of Hospitallers, which afterwards became a military society, and at last a Sovereign Order; instituted upon the motives of charity, and prompted by a zeal for the defence of the Holy Land, to take up arms against the infidels: an Order which, amidst the noise and clashing of swords, and with a continual war upon their hands, was capable of joining the peaceable virtues of religion with the most distinguishing courage in the field. This union of two professions so remote and distant from each other, until then unknown to the world, the piety and bravery of these military Friars, their zeal for the defence of the Christians, the numerous fights and battles in which they have been engaged for near seven hundred years, and the various success of their arms; all these particulars seem to me an object worthy the regard and consideration of mankind; and possibly the public will not look upon the history of these soldiers of Jesus Christ without surprise and admiration who, like a second race of Maccabees, have constantly opposed the arms of the infidels with a faith as firm as their courage has been invincible."

To attempt to emphasise or add to the words of the eloquent Abbé would be presumption, and the reasons which excited the admiration and interest of mankind two centuries ago are no less existent at the present day. But I have attempted in

this little work not to write the history of the Order as a whole, but rather to depict the part that Englishmen have played in it throughout the ages, and its history in our own land. To deal with such a subject adequately would require the pen of a Gibbon or a Macaulay, and my only claim to do so is the deep affection in which I hold that venerable order of chivalry to which I am so proud to belong. But if I have succeeded in giving pleasure to my brethren of the Order of St. John in England, and to those modern soldiers of the Order, the members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, then I can feel that I have not been entirely unworthy of the honour which the Executive Officers of the Order conferred upon me in inviting me to write this history. In conclusion, I should like to express my gratitude to Mr. H. W. Fincham, F.S.A., a Knight of Grace of the Order and its Assistant Librarian, for the constant encouragement he has given to me, and for many valuable suggestions. He was also kind enough to read through the whole of my manuscript for me and to arrange the whole of the illustrations, for which I tender him my warmest thanks.

E. J. K.

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NOTE.—The quotations from Vertot are taken from the English edition published in 1728, and the extracts from the Statutes are from the same work.

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Fr. THOMAS DOCWRA	1501—1527
Fr. WILLIAM WESTON	1527—1540

THE DISSOLUTION.

Fr. THOMAS TRESHAM	1557—1559
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THE CONFISCATION.

TITULAR GRAND PRIORS.

Fr. RICHARD SHELLEY	1561—1590
Fr. FRANCES ASTORG DE SEGREVILLE	1591—1593
Fr. ANDREW WISE	....	....	....	1593—1631
Fr. GIOVANNI BATTISTA NARI	....	....	....	1631
Fr. ALESSANDRO ZAMBECCARI	....	....	....	1639
Fr. GERONIMO ALLIATA	....	....	....	1648
Fr. STEFANO MARIA LOMELLINO	....	....	....	1654
Fr. HENRY FITZ JAMES	....	....	....	1689—1701
Fr. GIULIO BOVIO	....	....	....	1701—1706
Fr. FRANCESCO MARIA FERRETTI	....	....	....	1706—1726
Fr. NICHOLAS GERARDIN	....	....	....	1726—1733
Fr. PETER EMMANUEL FITZ JAMES	....	....	....	1733—1734
Fr. ANTHONY BONAVENTURE FITZ JAMES	....	....	....	1734—1755
Fr. GIOVANNI BATTISTA ALTIERI	....	....	....	1755—1782
Fr. GIROLAMO LAPARELLI	....	....	....	1806

NOT RECOGNIZED BY THE GRAND MASTER.

Rev. SIR ROBERT PEAT, BART.	....	....	1831—1837
The Hon. SIR HENRY DYMOKE, BART.	....	....	1838—1847
Lt.-Col. SIR CHARLES MONTOLIEU LAMB, BART.	....	....	1847—1860
Rear-Admiral SIR ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT	....	....	1860—1861
WILLIAM, DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P.	....	....	1861—1888

SINCE THE CHARTER OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

H.R.H. ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, K.G.	1888—1901
H.R.H. GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES, K.G.	1901—1910
FIELD-MARSHAL H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT,	K.G. 1910

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EXTRACT FROM THE ABBÉ VERTOT'S ESSAY
ON THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ORDER
OF ST. JOHN.

“The Church has in its bosom various Orders of Religious, who, without exercising the same functions, have all of them their particular merit in the sight of God, and who by their variety contribute each in his respective way to the ornament and beauty of the Church. Some sequestering themselves voluntarily from the conversation of mankind, buried as it were in solitude and wrapped up in their own virtue, spend their days in the contemplation of eternal truths. Others more conversant in the world, apply themselves chiefly to the instruction of their neighbours, and contribute to the easing the care of Pastors, when called in to their assistance in the ecclesiastical ministry. There are some so inflamed with zeal for the conversion of infidels that they go to the furthest parts of the earth to preach the Gospel. The same zeal, but actuated by a charity of another kind, made a body of gentlemen some ages ago take up arms to preserve the Christians from being made slaves by the Mahomedans and Infidels.”

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE ORDER.

IN the summer of 1099, the army of the first Crusade lay camped around the walls of the Holy City of Jerusalem. Three years had now elapsed since the pilgrims had abandoned all that men hold dear for the sake of a great ideal. They had marched across Europe to the rendezvous at Constantinople, they had traversed the sun-scorched, waterless plateau of Asia Minor, to see their comrades perish by hundreds and thousands from the hardships of the journey or the pitiless arrows of the Turkish light horse. For seven weary months they had lain before the walls of Antioch, until the weaker spirits in despair had abandoned the pilgrim host. They had seen the whole object of their long journey jeopardized by the ambition and jealousy of princes. But never despairing, keeping always before them the glorious dream that had brought them from their distant homes, they had ever pressed steadily onwards. They were content to die, if they could but help to rescue from the profanation of the infidel those sacred places where their Saviour had lived and suffered. And we are told that as they first caught sight of the Holy City, that army of Christian soldiers flung themselves in the dust, and lifted up their voices and wept. At last the end of their long pilgrimage was in view, for which they had sacrificed everything, and suffered all that it is possible for men to suffer and still live. Of all that mighty host that had started on the great Crusade, there can scarcely have been more than 20,000 fighting men left when the siege of Jerusalem began. For forty days the siege lasted, and then on Friday, July 15th, at three in the afternoon, the pilgrims stormed the

Holy City, on the very day of the week and hour that their Saviour had died.

The first to enter was that gallant Knight and noble Christian hero, Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine. And as he saw that victory was assured, he passed with but three attendants to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to humble himself in prayer at the tomb of the Saviour he adored. Duke Godfrey was the very personification of that spirit which had produced the Crusade. A tall, red-bearded man, he was one of the hardest fighting knights in the host. But unlike the other princes, he was devoid of earthly ambition, and fought only for the love of Christ. Gentle and kindly to the very humblest of the pilgrims, he was a man of pure life, when few were pure. Of him alone amongst the princes no scandalous stories were whispered in the camp. A devout man of deep religious feeling, his followers told how in churches he became so wrapt in prayer as to forget the very hours for meals. Such was Duke Godfrey who, eight days after the capture of the city, was elected the first Christian King of Jerusalem. But he would take no kingly title in the city where his Lord had suffered, nor wear a crown of gold where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns. Content with the humble title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre, he devoted the few months of life left to him to consolidating the new Christian kingdom, and three days after the first anniversary of the capture of Jerusalem, he died of a fever, and was buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem might well be called the first-born child of the great Crusade, and if one day more than another may be regarded as the birthday of the Order, it is surely July 15th, 1099, when the end of the great pilgrimage was accomplished and the Holy City was once more in Christian hands. The spirit that inspired the Order in the past was the spirit of the Crusades, and the best of its Knights throughout its history have been cast in the same mould as Godfrey of Bouillon.

Now there was in existence in Jerusalem when the Crusaders took the city, a little hospital for Christian pilgrims dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and under the rule of a certain Brother



By permission of W. and D. Downey.

FIELD-MARSHAL H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT, K.G.
GRAND PRIOR OF ENGLAND.

Gerard, who had devoted his life to this work after himself making the pilgrimage. The Hospital had originally been established in 1023 by some pious merchants of Amalfi, who had purchased the site of an older hospital previously established by Charlemagne, and destroyed in 1010 by the fanatical Egyptian Caliph el-Hakim. Into this hospital Brother Gerard took many of the wounded Christian soldiers, who received such devoted care and attention that their praises resounded throughout the army. Duke Godfrey himself visited the establishment, and was so impressed by the good work that was being done, that he endowed it with the manor of Montboise, in Brabant, and his example was followed by many other Christian leaders, who conferred rich gifts upon it. When the Crusaders began to return to their homes the following year, they were loud in their praises of the Hospital, whose fame speedily became celebrated throughout Christendom. What had been until now only an obscure charitable institution had suddenly become celebrated in all countries, and a favourite object for the donations of pious benefactors in every Christian land. Brother Gerard realised that the time had come when his little hospital, now so famous, must be given a more regular constitution. And so he and his brethren decided to take the regular vows of chastity, obedience and poverty before the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and formally to dedicate their lives at the foot of the Holy Sepulchre to the service of the poor and the pilgrims. They adopted the Augustinian rule and took as their habit the black robe, with a white cross of eight points on the left side near the heart. In the year 1113, Pope Paschal II took the Hospital under his protection, exempted it from the payment of tithes, confirmed its endowments and granted it the privilege of electing its own superior. Such were the beginnings of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. The work of the founder was now finished, and seven years later, to use the words* of the French historian of the Order, "the Hospitallers lost the Blessed Gerard, the father of the poor and the pilgrims ; that virtuous man having

* Vertot. Book I, p. 22.

arrived at an exceeding old age, expired in the arms of his brethren almost without any sickness, and fell as we may say, like a fruit ripe for eternity."

The Hospitallers elected as the successor of Gerard the famous Raymond du Puy, the second founder of the Order, whose destinies he guided for no less than forty years. He was the first to take the title of Master, and was perhaps the greatest of all those who have ruled over the Hospital. He transformed a little body of monks into the greatest order of chivalry the world has ever known, he gave them a definite rule and constitution, which in spirit has remained unchanged to the present day, and when he died in 1160 he left his Order one of the firmest bulwarks of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It has always been a matter of controversy as to whether the Knights of the Hospital or the Knights of the Temple were the oldest military order, and opinions no doubt will always differ, but to many it seems as if the transformation of the Hospital was greatly influenced by the formation of that exclusively military fraternity, the Knights of the Order of the Temple of Solomon. In the year 1119 two knights, Hugh de Payns and Godfrey de St. Omer, had taken upon themselves the pious task of protecting the pilgrims on the road from Joppa to Jerusalem from the attacks of the Moslem brigands who infested the route. They were joined by six other knights, and formed themselves into a religious community, forsaking worldly chivalry, "of which human favour and not Jesus Christ was the cause," in order to devote their lives to their new duties. They took the regular vows before the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and lived according to the rule of St. Benedict, in order "to fight with a pure mind for the supreme and true King." To this community of fighting monks King Baldwin II, the cousin of Godfrey, handed over a part of the royal palace lying next to the Temple of Solomon, from which they took their name. The new order grew and prospered. In 1127 Hugh de Payns made a journey to Europe to secure the powerful support of St. Bernard, the abbot of Clairvaux; in the following year the rule of the order was discussed and sanctioned by the



From Boisgelin's Malta

THE BLESSED RAYMOND DU PUY.
FIRST GRAND MASTER OF THE ORDER, 1120-1160.

Council of Troyes, and the Knights of the Temple of Solomon rapidly developed into a great international order, rivalling in wealth and power their comrades the Knights of the Hospital.

Now Raymond du Puy was a pious monk and devoted to the service of the Hospital, but he could not forget the soldierly traditions of that military caste to which he belonged. Often he pondered over the sorrows of the Holy Land, and the constant dangers that surrounded the little Christian communities isolated in the midst of an indigenous Mohammedan population. He was moved to holy anger as he thought of Christians taken prisoners by the Moslems and forced by torture to renounce their faith. He was filled with a burning desire to preserve to his Saviour those souls which were so often in danger of being thus lost. Doubtless his blood was stirred by the formation of that new order, the fighting monks of the Temple. We are told that he made these questions the subject of earnest prayer, until at last the call came to him, and he summoned his brethren together, and proposed that they should take up in defence of their fellow Christians those swords, which they had flung aside when they embraced the service of the Hospital. The brethren accepted with alacrity the proposals of their revered chief, and it was agreed that whilst they must in no way relinquish their original vows, or relax their care of the sick and the poor, a part of the monks should always be in readiness to take up arms against the attacks of the infidels. The new proposals were placed before the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and received his blessing. The Order of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist was now a military order, the monks had become knights, and Raymond du Puy placing himself at the head of his brethren, all armed and mounted, offered their services to Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem.

But the Knights of the Hospital were never simply a military order like the Knights of the Temple, and in that fact lies the difference in the history of these two societies. However prominent their military duties afterwards became, the Hospitallers never allowed that spirit of Christian charity to be forgotten, from which their Order had sprung. Raymond

du Puy was a gallant soldier and a great administrator, but he was also the servant of the poor and the suffering, and the spirit of Christian humility which he wished to see prevailing in his Order is seen in the Rule* which he established, and which, though modified, never ceased to be the Rule of the Order. "In the name of the Lord, Amen. I Raymond the servant of Christ's poor, and Master of the Hospital of Jerusalem, by the advice of the General Chapter of both clerical and lay brethren, have established the following precepts and statutes in the house of the Hospital of Jerusalem. In the first place I desire that all those brethren who have dedicated themselves to the service of the poor shall by God's assistance maintain inviolate the three promises which they have made to Him, namely chastity, obedience, which is to be understood to include whatever may be commanded by the Master, and to live without any property of their own, because the fulfilment of these three vows will be required of them by God at the last judgement. And let them not seek for, or claim as due to them, more than bread and water and raiment, which things are promised to them, and let their raiment be humble, because our masters the poor, whose servants we profess to be, appear scantily and meanly clad, and it is not right that the servant should be proudly arrayed, whilst his master is humble."

The date when the Knights of the Hospital became a military order is not precisely known†, but in a letter to Fulk, King of Jerusalem, written in 1131, Pope Innocent II speaks of them as exposing their lives daily in defence of their brethren, and as the firmest support of the Christian Church in the East. The

* The original copy of the Rule of Raymond du Puy was lost when Acre fell in 1291, but it was confirmed and renewed in 1300 in a Bull of Boniface VIII, which is printed in Porter, Vol. I, Appendix 7. The Rule, as finally embodied in the Statutes, is a modification of the original Rule.

† In 1126 we hear of the Order having a Constable, who is a purely military official, and at a later date is known as the Marshal. Presumably therefore by 1126 the Order of St. John was already a Military Order. See *Delaville Le Roulx*, p. 45.

first known instance of their military activity was in 1136, when the newly-built castle of Jibelin was placed in their keeping. They became the guardians of the frontier on the side of Ascalon, and from the first the military orders were largely trusted with the protection of the borders of the kingdom. Nothing shows more clearly the respect in which these fighting monks were beginning to be held than the fact that when Alphonso the Battler, King of Aragon and Navarre, was slain in 1134, he left his kingdoms by will to be equally divided between the three great Orders of the Hospital, the Temple and the Holy Sepulchre. The complications that arose from this strange legacy brought Raymond du Puy to Europe in 1140, and he was able to arrange a compromise which was doubtless the best that the circumstances would permit.

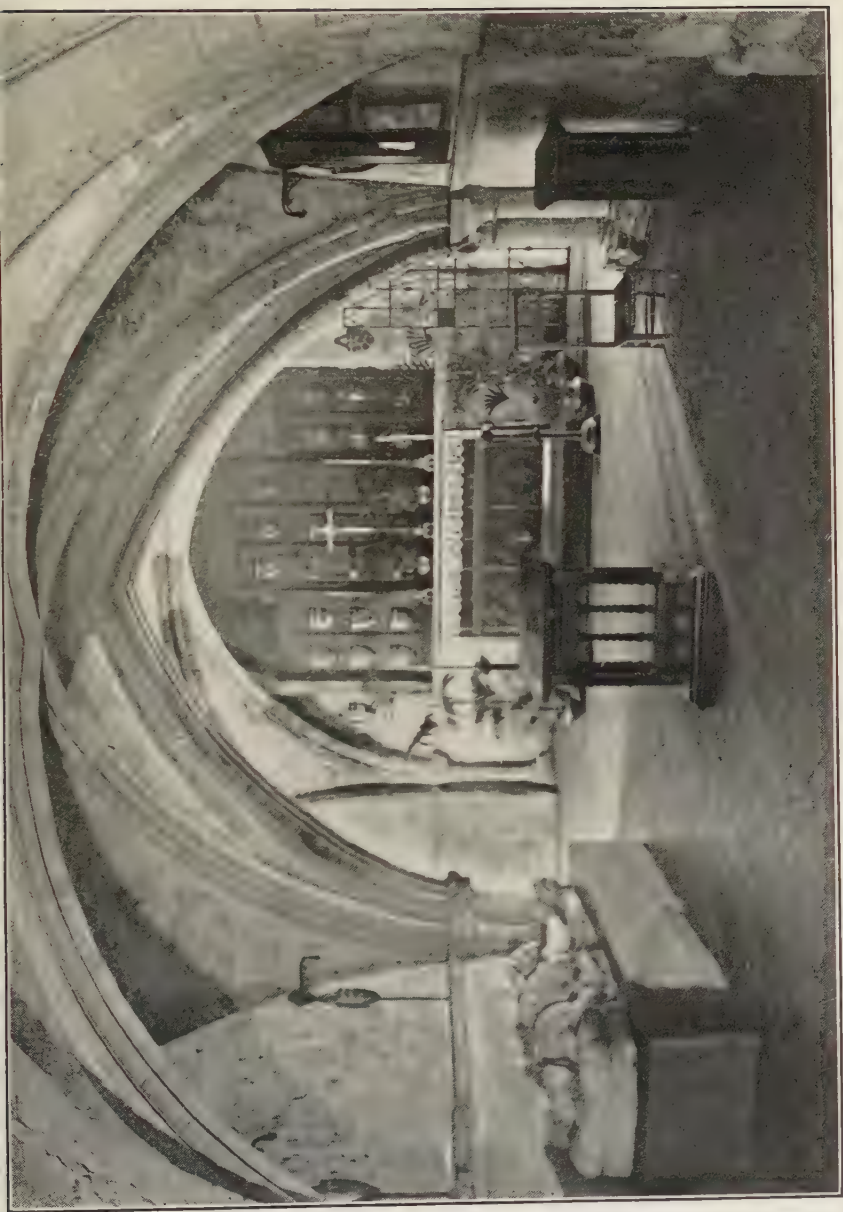
It is impossible to record in detail the rapid strides that were now made by the Knights of the Hospital. Each year saw an increase in their power, their riches, and their spiritual privileges. Their military strength expanded with their wealth, and the glorious capture of Ascalon in 1153 was largely due to the determination of Raymond du Puy and the valour of his knights. Their spiritual privileges excited the bitter hostility of the clergy. They had been exempted from tithes, they had been freed from the control of the bishops, and even in the case of a general interdict their churches remained open. Anastasius IV. in 1154 not only confirmed all these privileges, but even added to them the right to have their own priests independent of the bishops. So indignant were the clergy that the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Bishops of the Holy Land made the long journey to Rome to protest in person to the Pope, but all in vain. When Raymond du Puy again visited Europe in 1157 his journey was one long triumphal progress, and Pope and Emperor, kings and nobles vied in showing him honour and showering gifts upon his Hospital. If Gerard was the founder of the Order, none the less Raymond du Puy was its real maker. He had found it a little community of monks tending the sick in a Hospital, he left it one of the greatest and most powerful institutions in Christendom. During the 40 years of his rule he

designed so wisely, he built on such sure foundations, he organised so skilfully that he left an Order capable of adapting itself through the centuries to all the changes of time and circumstance, so that it survives even to the present day. Truly, he must be counted the greatest of the Grand Masters. So universal was the esteem in which he was held, that when he died in 1160, over eighty years of age, we are told* that "the Hospitallers and indeed all the Latin Christians of the East, who had been witnesses of his virtues, anticipating his canonization, revered him as of the number of the Blessed, a title which prosperity confirmed to him."

Long before the death of Raymond du Puy, the Knights of the Hospital had become firmly established in England, and by the middle of the 12th century we find a certain Prior Walter ruling over the Order. It was about this time, too, that they received that gift of land at Clerkenwell on which the great Priory was built, the headquarters of the Order in England. The pious donor, whose name has always been remembered with gratitude, was a certain Jordan of Bricett. He was a younger son of Ralph Fitz Brian, belonging to a Breton family which had settled in England after the Norman conquest, and received a grant of lands in Essex, as well as Bricett in Suffolk. Jordan had married an heiress, Muriel de Munteni, and the two about the year 1144 had founded the Nunnery of St. Mary at Clerkenwell. Probably in the following year† he founded the Priory of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem on ten acres of land purchased from the nuns. About these ten acres there was a dispute shortly afterwards, and in 1148 Prior Walter released to the nuns all rights therein, in consideration of the five acres on which his Priory had been built. Jordan of Bricett was still living in 1160, the year of Raymond du Puy's death.

* Vertot, Book I., p. 52.

† The date 1145 for the foundation of the Priory is deduced from the evidence of certain undated Charters. On the other hand, Mr. H. W. Fincham, F.S.A., a Knight of Grace of the Order, and its Assistant Librarian, states that this is in direct conflict with the architectural evidence, and that the foundation cannot be later than about 1130.



W. Fincham, photo.

THE ANCIENT CRYPT OF THE PRIORY CHURCH.

THE RECEPTION OF THE BRETHREN: STATUTES II, I.

Such as are resolved to dedicate their persons to the service of the sick, and the defence of the Catholic Faith, in the regular habit of our Order, are received to their profession in the manner and form following. They ought to know that they are going to put on the new man, and make an humble confession of their sins to the priest, according to the custom of the Church, and after receiving absolution, to present themselves on their knees before the altar, in a long secular habit untied (that they may appear entirely free at a time that they are going to bind themselves with an holy engagement) with a taper lighted (which represents charity), hear mass and receive the Holy Communion.

They shall next present themselves with respect to the Brother that officiates, and desire of him to be admitted into the society of the brethren, and the holy Order of the Hospital of Jerusalem. He shall make them a short discourse to confirm them in their pious design, to make them sensible how much it tends to their advantage and welfare to consecrate themselves to the service of the poor of Jesus Christ, to be employed in works of mercy, and devote themselves to the service and defence of the Faith, a favour which many have desired, without being able to obtain it. He shall afterwards represent to them their obligations of obedience, and the severity of the rules, which do not allow them to conduct themselves any longer after their own will, which oblige them to renounce it, to follow for the future only that of their superiors, so that if they should have never so great a desire to do a thing, the duty of their obedience would oblige them to do the contrary.

He shall next ask the person, who is for making his profession, whether he is disposed to submit to all these obligations, whether he has not made his vows in any other order, whether he is married, whether his marriage is consummated, whether he is indebted any considerable sums, and whether he is not a slave. For if, even after making his vows, it be found that he had done any one of these things, or was in any such condition, he would

be ignominiously stripped of his habit as a deceiver, and delivered back to the person he belonged to.

If he declares that he is under none of these engagements, the Brother who receives him shall present him the missal open, upon which he shall lay both his hands, and, after the said questions and answers, he shall make his profession in these words :

“ I do promise and vow to God, to the ever virgin Mary, the mother of God, and to St. John Baptist, to pay from henceforward, by the assistance of God’s grace, true obedience to the superior which it shall please Him to set over me, and which shall be chosen by our Order, to live without any property, and to preserve chastity.”

When he has taken his hands from off the book, the Brother that receives him shall say to him : “ We own you for a servant of the gentlemen that are poor and sick, and for a person devoted to the defence of the Catholic Faith.” He shall answer : “ I own myself to be so.” He shall kiss the missal and, taking it in his hands, shall carry and lay it upon the altar, which he shall humbly kiss, and bring back the missal to the Brother that receives him, in token of his true obedience.

This being done, the Brother that receives him shall take the black mantle and, shewing him the white cross upon it, shall say to him : “ Do you believe, Brother, that this is the sign of the Holy Cross, to which Jesus Christ was fastened, and died upon it for the redemption of our sins ? ” The new Brother shall answer : “ Yes, I believe it.” He shall add : “ It is also the sign of our Order, and we command you to wear it continually upon your clothes.” After which the Brother professed shall kiss the sign of the Cross. This done, he that receives him shall put the mantle on his shoulders, so that the Cross lie over his breast on the left side, shall kiss him and say to him : “ Take this sign in the name of the Holy Trinity, the ever virgin Mary, and St. John Baptist, for the improvement of the faith, the defence of the Christian name, and the service of the poor. For this reason we put the Cross on that side of you, that you may love it with all your heart, and that your

right hand may fight for its defence and preservation. For if ever it happen, that in fighting for Jesus Christ against the enemies of the faith, you should turn your back, desert the standard of the Cross, and fly away in so just a war, you will be stripped of that holy sign, agreeably to the Statutes and Customs of the Order, as false to the vow you have now made, and be cut off from our body as a rotten and corrupt member."

He shall then tie the mantle about his neck with strings, and shall say to him: "Receive the Lord's yoke, for it is easy and light, and you shall find rest to your soul. We promise you nothing but bread and water, without any dainties, and a modest habit of little worth. We give you, your parents and relations, a share in all the good works of our Order, and our Brothers that are at present, or shall be hereafter, all over the world." The person professed shall answer: "Amen"—that is, so be it. Then the Brother that has received him, and all that are there present, shall embrace him and kiss him, in token of friendship, peace and brotherly love. The priests, and particularly he that said mass, shall then say the prayers following, etc., etc.

CHAPTER II.

THE TWO ENGLISH GRAND MASTERS.

THE Blessed Raymond du Puy was succeeded by a Provençal knight, Auger de Balben, who died within two years, and then in 1162 Gilbert d'Assailly, one of the only two Grand Masters who can be claimed as English, was elected to that high office. His origin is in reality somewhat doubtful, and the claim that he was an Englishman is mainly based upon a conjecture of the Abbé Vertot. In any case he could only have belonged to the conquering Norman aristocracy, for the native English were still a subject race under the rule of the Counts of Anjou, to whom the heritage of the Norman Dukes had descended. He was a Grand Master whom England may well be proud to claim, for he was a worthy successor of his great predecessor, and under his rule the power and prestige of his Order was steadily increased. During his Mastership, Amaury I., King of Jerusalem, whilst acting as regent of Tripoli, conferred upon the Knights of St. John a great block of territory on the north-east frontier of that county, to be held as a march against the Saracens with the power to make peace and war, and almost sovereign rights. It was a course that had already been adopted in the north by Bohemond III., Prince of Antioch. Gilbert d'Assailly may be said to have laid the foundations of the Order as the Sovereign Order, that it was destined to become in later generations.

The name of this Grand Master will always be associated in history with the story of a great failure, but a failure which reflects no discredit either upon his capacity or his judgment. He was responsible for the one bold and clear-sighted effort that

was made to avert the inevitable doom that overhung the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem. It failed because the resources of the little state were insufficient, and its feudal lords were incapable of loyal co-operation or united action. The kingdom had always been miserably weak, and may be said to have been ripe for destruction from the very day of its foundation. European settlement had never been on a sufficient scale to give it health or vigour. In the days of its greatest strength the largest military force that it could put in the field, after denuding every fortress of its garrison, was only 15,000 men. It is surprising, not that the kingdom collapsed so quickly, but that it lasted so long. Its survival was only due to the fact that the Mohammedan world was divided against itself, and given up to anarchy. But there had recently arisen in Syria a great ruler, Nur-ed-din, the son of that Zangi who in 1144 had destroyed the County of Edessa, the northern bulwark of the Latin east. Nur-ed-din had united Damascus and Aleppo, and was now reaching out towards Egypt, whose government was in the last stages of decadence. Should Syria and Egypt be united under one master, nothing could avert the doom of the little Christian kingdom of Jerusalem.

To the clear vision and logical mind of the Grand Master it was perfectly evident that Egypt was ripe for conquest, and that the conqueror would certainly be the Sultan of Damascus, unless he could be forestalled by the King of Jerusalem. Twice already, in 1164 and 1167, the Egyptians had summoned King Amaury to their assistance against the Syrians, and on the second occasion he had left a garrison in Cairo. Gilbert d'Assailly now used all his great influence to induce the King to undertake the definite conquest of Egypt, and pledged himself to place all the forces of the Hospital at his disposal. But as so often happened in that distracted and undisciplined kingdom, it was sufficient for the Knights of the Hospital to favour one policy for the Knights of the Temple to advocate the very reverse, and their Grand Master flatly declined to take part in the enterprise, a serious loss of strength to the expedition. However the king, fully convinced by the arguments of the Grand Master of the Hospital, deter-

mined upon a serious invasion of Egypt in the autumn of 1168. The Hospitallers, under Gilbert d'Assailly, concentrated at El Arish, 500 knights and 500 light horse, called Turcopoles. This may be regarded as the strongest expeditionary force that the Order of St. John was capable of putting in the field, and it varied curiously little in strength throughout the history of the Order. It is impossible to tell how many English knights were present, but they are not likely to have been more than 25 or 30 in number. In order to equip this force, the Grand Master had been compelled to raise a heavy loan from the bankers of Florence and Genoa, but the king had promised in return for their efforts to bestow upon the Order the city of Belbeis and all the land of Goshen, sufficient to produce an annual revenue of 100,000 besants, as well as a further 50,000 besants a year secured upon the ten chief cities of Egypt.

The Christian army crossed the frontier at the end of October, and marched straight on the capital, Belbeis was stormed on November 3rd, and handed over to the Hospitallers, and Cairo was reached on the 13th. Then followed a long pause, the siege was not pressed with vigour, the fleet failed to join the army, and the king allowed himself to be inveigled into negotiations with the Egyptian Vizier. Meanwhile the Caliph had sent a pathetic appeal for assistance to the Sultan of Damascus, who realised that at last his opportunity had arrived. His favourite general, Shirkoh the Kurd, accompanied by his nephew Saladin, soon to be so famous, set out from Ras-el-ma in the Hauran on December 17th, with 8,000 picked troops. As soon as he heard the news King Amaury fell back from Cairo, and on December 25th left Belbeis in order to intercept the Syrians. But Shirkoh succeeded in evading the Christian army without fighting, and effected a junction with the Egyptians. Thereupon the king, unable to contend against the heavy odds which now faced him, withdrew the Hospitallers from Belbeis, and on January 2nd was in full retreat on Palestine. So ended the one great effort that might conceivably have averted the fate which overshadowed the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Possibly the leadership was defective, there is not sufficient information available on which

to base a sound judgment, but more probably success was impossible owing to the scanty resources of the little kingdom.

The complete failure of their expedition against Egypt, upon which they had built the most extravagant hopes, was a bitter blow to the Knights of the Hospital, and there was practically a revolt against the authority of the Grand Master. As the chief advocate of a policy that had failed so lamentably, and left their Order embarrassed by debt, Gilbert d'Assailly found himself attacked from almost every quarter. The suspicion naturally arises that possibly as a Norman his election to the Mastership had never been congenial to an Order so predominantly French as it was at this time. It would certainly help to account for the deep hostility which suddenly became manifest. Whatever the real causes may have been, the Grand Master found the situation so intolerable that he resigned his dignity, and retired to a hermitage. At once the real esteem in which he was held by those in authority became evident. The king, the barons, the citizens, and the clergy, with an unanimity truly remarkable, begged him to reconsider his decision, and at the urgent request of the Patriarch of Jerusalem he consented to resume office. But the insulting suggestion of certain personal enemies, that he should be called upon to give guarantees for his future conduct, was more than he could endure. Summoning the Chapter-General, he supervised the election of his successor, Caste de Murols, and then finally resigned in the year 1170.

We know little more of Gilbert d'Assailly, he embarked at Jaffa for Europe, and landed in Provence. Passing through France, he went to Rouen, where he received a warm welcome from King Henry II. Finally, thirteen years after his resignation, he embarked at Dieppe for England on September 19th, 1183, in a vessel that proved to be unseaworthy. Three miles from shore she suddenly filled with water and sank, only eight persons being saved. The greatest authority* on the early history of the Order sums up the Mastership of Gilbert d'Assailly by saying that his rule was a period during which the political, military and

* Delaville Le Roulx, p. 80.

territorial power of the Knights of the Hospital was continually increasing.

Three years before the death of the first English Grand Master King Henry II. presented to the Order of the Hospital an estate at Buckland, in Somerset, for the purpose of founding a Commandery and housing the sisters of the Order. From the very first the Order had included an establishment of sisters at Jerusalem, and in England the sisters appear to have been attached to certain Commanderies. The system had obvious objections, and they were all now concentrated at Buckland under their first Prioress Fina. At this time there were only nine sisters, but the numbers gradually increased until a century and a half later we find as many as fifty, which apparently remained the normal establishment. The Prioress Fina lived to a great age, and ruled over Buckland for sixty years, dying in 1240. Her memory was always held in the deepest reverence. But the most famous of all the sisters of the Order is the blessed St. Ubaldesca of Pisa, who lived during this period. She made her profession in the Order of St. John as soon as she was old enough to do so, and devoted her whole life to the service of the sick and the poor. Of her it is written* :—" Nature formed her generous and beneficent ; grace rendered her charitable ; she was the mother of the poor ; the sick met with a relief always at hand in her assiduous care ; there was no kind of misery but she brought a remedy for it, or gave consolation under it ; and when her duties allowed her some moments to herself she spent them before the Cross, and in a continual meditation upon the death and passion of our divine Saviour. It was in a continual exercise of these virtues that the blessed Ubaldesca died about the year 1206."

Meanwhile the condition of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was rapidly growing desperate. The dangerous union of Syria and Egypt had been followed on the death of Nur-ed-din by a fresh

* Vertot, Book III, 113. Another famous sister of this period was St. Toscana of Verona ; always noted for her charity and goodness to the poor and the sick, on the death of her husband, she gave all her goods to the poor, and made her profession in the Order of St. John. (See *Boyssat, Vol. I., p. 31* *Edition Baudoin.*)



From Helyot's Histoire des Ordres Monastiques

A SISTER OF THE ORDER.

period of Moslem dissension, and so the fatal blow had been retarded for twenty years. But now a greater than Nur-ed-din had arisen, the famous Saladin, the noblest and most chivalrous leader the Moslem world has ever known. The crisis was now at hand, and the doomed kingdom could produce no leader capable of controlling its quarrelsome barons. King Amaury had died in 1174, and his son a leper ruled over a land divided against itself. The only hope lay in European intervention, and in the summer of 1184 a special mission was sent to the West consisting of the Patriarch Heraclius and the two Grand Masters, Roger des Moulins of the Hospital and Arnold de Torroge of the Temple, but the latter died in Italy. This mission is an event of the first importance in the history of the Order of St. John in England, and one not likely to be forgotten, for it was during his visit to England that the Patriarch consecrated the Priory Church at Clerkenwell, and moreover Roger des Moulins was the first Grand Master to visit the Priory.

The mission reached England in March 1185, and proceeded straight to Reading, where the King happened to be. They were confident that he, the grandson of Fulk, King of Jerusalem, would lead an army to the Holy Land, and when the Patriarch and the Grand Master entered the royal presence, they placed in the King's hands the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of the City of Jerusalem, the Patriarch exclaiming "Behold the keys of the kingdom, which the king and princes of the land have ordered me to give to thee, because it is in thee, alone after God, that they have hope and confidence of salvation." King Henry, in reply, summoned the great barons of his realm to meet him at the Priory at Clerkenwell on March 18th. But the prelates and barons, whilst ready to vote money for a holy war, advised that the king's duty was to govern his kingdom, and not to go campaigning in the East. There can never have been a more dramatic scene in the great hall of the Priory, than when the Patriarch in bitter disappointment cried out:—"We come to seek a king, not money, for every corner of the world sends us money, but not one a prince." And then he prophesied that the king would be henceforward forsaken by God, and his glory turned into dis-

aster and shame. In spite of this scene, King Henry rode down to the coast with the Grand Master and the Patriarch, reaching Dover on April 10th. They sailed on the 16th, and at their departure the King again deplored his inability to go on the crusade, owing to the danger he feared from his sons. The Patriarch, in bitter despair at the failure of his mission, retorted :—" No wonder ; from the devil they came, and to the devil they will go."

Two years after the return of the mission, the blow fell. In the spring of 1187 Saladin proclaimed the Holy War, and on May 1st the Grand Master Roger des Moulins was killed in action, in a gallant attempt to hold back a Saracen foray. On July 4th, in the decisive Battle of Hattin on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, the army of Jerusalem met with overwhelming disaster, and the true cross was captured by the infidels. The cities and fortresses of the kingdom, denuded of their garrisons, could offer no serious resistance, and on October 2nd the Holy City itself capitulated. By the winter the city of Tyre, closely besieged by Saladin, was practically all that remained of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, whilst the Principality of Antioch and the County of Tripoli were in little better case.

The vacancy in the Mastership of the Order caused by the death of Roger des Moulins was first filled by the election of Armengaud d'Asp, Grand Prior of St. Gilles, who had greatly distinguished himself in the defence of Tyre. On his death at the end of 1189, Garnier de Nablous, Grand Prior of England, was elected Grand Master in his place, the second Englishman to hold that high office. The new Grand Master had long been amongst the most prominent members of the Order, he had been Castellan of Jibelin, he had twice held the post of Grand Preceptor, second in rank only to the Grand Master himself, and in 1185 he had been appointed Grand Prior of England. Since it was the custom in the Order at this time to appoint as Priors only natives of the Priory concerned, it is generally considered that Garnier de Nablous was English, or of English origin. On the other hand, since his family name is taken from Nablous in Palestine, his ancestors must presumably at some time have

been Lords of that town. But that in no way conflicts with his family having been English or Anglo-Norman in origin.

The story of the Mastership of Garnier de Nablous is the story of the Third Crusade. All Europe was in mourning for the fall of the Holy City and the loss of the true cross. Princes and kings, the Emperor himself, vowed to consecrate their lives to the recovery of the Holy Land, and amongst the first to take the cross was Richard Coeur-de-Lion, then Duke of Aquitaine. In 1189 he succeeded to the throne of England, and it has been thought that it was perhaps due to his personal influence that Garnier de Nablous was elected Grand Master of the Hospital. He was in his Priory at Clerkenwell when the news of his election arrived, and he left for Paris soon after, but delayed his departure for the East in order to accompany the King of England, who regarded him as his confidential adviser for Oriental affairs. A large part of the English army under the command of the Archbishop of Canterbury had already reached Palestine when the King and the Grand Master embarked at Marseilles in September, 1190. They joined the King of France at Messina on the 23rd, and spent the winter in Sicily. It was not until April 10th, 1191, that they finally sailed for the East, Cyprus was conquered on the way, and on June 8th the King and the Grand Master joined the army of crusaders, then engaged in besieging Acre.

Ever since the fall of Jerusalem, detachments of crusaders from every country in Europe had been arriving in the Holy Land, and in August 1189 they were strong enough to begin the siege of Acre. But they were quickly blockaded in their lines by Saladin, and for nearly two years the siege dragged on at an enormous cost of life and treasure. The arrival of that capable and vigorous soldier, Richard Coeur-de-Lion speedily changed the face of affairs, and on July 12th Acre surrendered, but the success of the Third Crusade had been ruined by its obstinate defence. No sooner was their first objective secured than bitter dissensions broke out in the Christian host, and at the end of the month the King of France abandoned the Crusade, and returned to Europe after taking a solemn oath to be a peaceful neighbour to King Richard. "How faithfully he kept

that oath is sufficiently notorious to all men, for the moment that he got back he stirred up the land and set Normandy in an uproar." The King of England was now in supreme command of the Crusaders, but with little real authority over any part of the army, except the English contingent, whilst his policy and plans were continually obstructed by the disloyalty and intrigues of the French leaders.

On August 22nd Richard Coeur-de-Lion began his march on Jerusalem, taking the coast road to Jaffa, the fleet keeping pace with the army. The rear-guard was the post of greatest danger, and that he entrusted to the Knights of the Hospital, under their Grand Master, Garnier de Nablous. Day and night the Saracens continually harassed the march of the Crusaders, whilst steadily avoiding a serious engagement, and the Parthian tactics of their Turkish horse-archers were almost more than discipline could endure. At last, on September 7th, a more determined attack than usual on the rear-guard brought on the pitched battle of Arsouf,* in which King Richard gained his greatest victory. The Christian army was approaching the town, when suddenly Saladin massed his horse-archers against the rear-guard, with the object of bringing it to a halt, and then cutting it off from the main body. Squadron after squadron of horse galloped up, discharged their arrows into the marching columns, and then galloped away again. It was one incessant storm of arrows. The King's orders were that on no account must the rear-guard halt, nor must the cavalry move out of the column until he himself gave the order, when the whole of the mounted troops of the army would charge simultaneously. We are told that the infantry of the rear-guard were walking slowly backwards, with their faces to the foe, discharging their cross-bows as quickly as they could load them. The strain had almost reached the breaking-point, and Garnier de Nablous, riding up to the King, protested vigorously: "Great St. George, will you let us be crushed in this way? Christianity will perish

*For a detailed account of the Battle of Arsouf, see *Oman's Art of War in the Middle Ages*.

if we do not give battle to these rascals." But that great soldier, calm and confident, keenly watching for the right moment, simply replied: "My dear Master, we must put up with it." At last the enemy began to close in and an eye-witness states that "they had laid their bows aside and were now thundering upon the rear-guard with their scimitars and maces like smiths upon anvils." The Knights of the Hospital could stand no more. Suddenly wheeling their horses to the left, they raised a shout of "St. George!" and bursting through the infantry, flung themselves upon the enemy. Recognizing that the moment for which he was waiting had arrived, King Richard ordered the charge to be sounded, and the whole of the cavalry, riding out of the line of march, dashed upon the infidels. The Saracen and Turkish light horse were too closely engaged to be able to break away, and when the Christian warriors had finished their work, seven thousand of the enemy lay dead upon the field.

The Crusaders continued their march to Jaffa, but they were not destined to recapture the Holy City. Disloyalty, intrigue and treachery were the ruin of their cause. Garnier de Nablous, in whom the King had greatly trusted, died on August 31st in the following year, the last Englishman to attain to the Grand Mastership. He was a gallant soldier and chivalrous knight, one of whom his Order and his country may well be proud. King Richard remained only a few weeks longer, and sailed for Europe on October 9th, 1192, after concluding a treaty with Saladin, which secured to the Christians the possession of the fortified cities on the coast, with the territory immediately dependent upon them.

The subsequent history of these poor remnants of the Kingdom of Jerusalem contains little of interest. The authority of its kings, never strong, grew weaker and weaker, until kingship was but an empty title. Its great lords grew more and more turbulent, claiming and exercising sovereign powers, and the right not only to make peace and war with their Christian neighbours, but also with their common enemy the Saracens. There was nothing wholesome left in the Latin East except

the three great military orders of the Hospital, the Temple and the Teutonic Knights, established as an independent Order in 1198. It was only their zeal and devotion, their vigour and their discipline, that for a time held the Moslem at bay. But even the military orders could not always act in harmony. Depressing though this period is, it is illuminated for the Knights of St. John by the beautiful lives of the three most famous saints of their Order. St. Hugh, Commander of Genoa, devoted himself entirely to the service of the poor and the pilgrims in the hospital under his direction. His life was one of continual penance and boundless charity. Of him it is written* that "he passed the whole day either in prayer or in attendance on the sick, and if any pilgrims came in, he washed their feet and kissed them with profound humility. It was in a continual practice of these virtues that the Blessed Hugh finished at last the sacrifice of himself." St. Gerard Mecati of Villamagna was a serving brother of the Order, and displayed the utmost zeal and charity in the service of the poor. But his soul longed for the solitude and peace of a hermitage, and he is spoken of by his contemporaries as a second Hilarion. "It was about the year 1242 that this pious hermit ended his days and was translated to the society of the Saints." St. Gerland of Poland was a Knight of the Order as famous for his piety as for his valour. For a time he represented the Grand Master at the Court of the Emperor Frederick II. But at last he obtained permission to retire to his Commandery of Calatagirona, where, we are told,† "he spent the rest of his days, leading a life truly angelical; he was a father of the poor, a protector of the widows, a guardian to orphans, a general arbitrator and an amiable compounder of all differences."

In the autumn of 1223 the Priory at Clerkenwell had the honour once more to receive the Grand Master of the Order, Garin de Montaigu, perhaps the greatest after Raymond du Puy to rule over its destinies in the Holy Land. He had accompanied

* Vertot. Book III, p. 143.

† Vertot. Book III, p. 144.

King John of Jerusalem on a special mission to the West to ask for help for the remnants of the kingdom, and he appears to have spent the winter in England. But his mission was no more successful than that of the Grand Master Roger des Moulins forty years before. However in 1240 the king's brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, led a crusade to the East, and was accompanied by Brother Theodoric de Nussa, Grand Prior of England, but a German by race. A contemporary describes how the Knights rode out of the Priory at Clerkenwell, preceded by their banner, and with the Grand Prior at their head. They passed through the City and over London Bridge, the Knights saluting the people as they passed by, and recommending themselves to their prayers.

But nothing could save the Latin East. In 1260 the great Mameluke Sultan Beibars ascended the Egyptian throne, and, like Saladin before him, vowed that he would drive the Christians out of Syria. He surprised Caesarea in 1265, and stormed Arsouf, a town belonging to the Hospital. The Templar fortress of Safed was captured the following year, and in 1266 Jaffa, Belfort, and the great City of Antioch. In 1271 he took the famous Castle of Crac in the County of Tripoli, the most important of the possessions of the Knights of St. John, and only the arrival of a new crusade under Prince Edward of England saved Tripoli. Before returning to England the Prince secured a short respite for the Christians by concluding a truce with Beibars for ten years. As King of England he never lost his interest in the Holy Land, and it was no doubt due to his influence that, in 1273, Brother Joseph de Chauncey, the Treasurer of the Order, was appointed Grand Prior of England. He belonged to a Yorkshire family, and had served nearly forty years in the East; he had been Treasurer since 1248, and his memory was long preserved at Clerkenwell by the Lord Prior's Chapel, which he built. The work of Beibars was continued by the Sultan Kelaun, who captured the Castle of Markab from the Knights of St. John in 1285, and the City of Tripoli in 1288. The Christian capital Acre was now in imminent danger, and in 1290 Brother William de Henley,

Grand Prior of England, who had recently added the cloisters to the Priory Church, went out to the East with all the knights the Priory could muster. But he must have died soon after his arrival, for in that year Brother Peter de Hakeham was elected Grand Prior in his place. The Sultan Kelaun never lived to finish his work, for he died in the midst of his preparations for the siege of Acre, and his worthless son Khalil had the honour of driving the Christians out of Syria.

CHAPTER III.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TEMPLAR ESTATES.

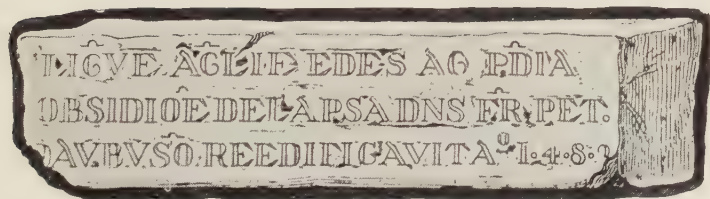
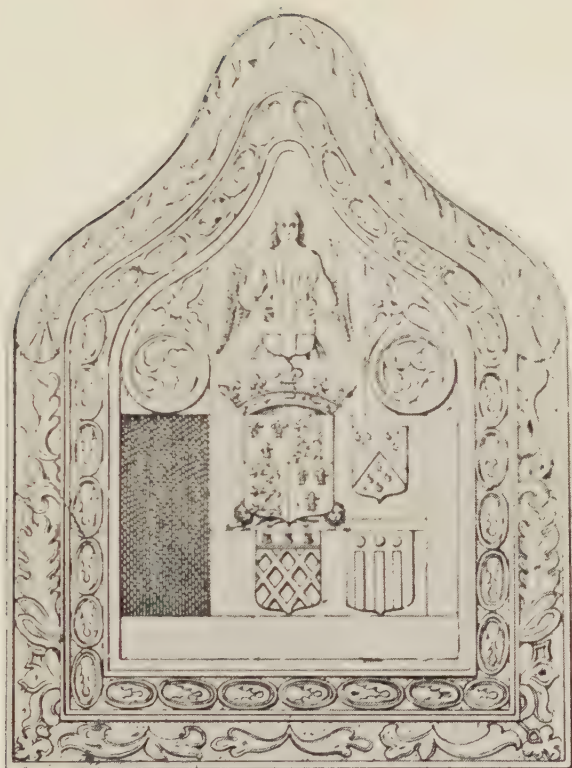
IN the summer of the year 1291 the startling news reached the Priory at Clerkenwell that Acre had been stormed by the Saracens on May 18th, and that of all the brethren in garrison there six alone had escaped, including the Grand Master, who was severely wounded. And then as the year wore on the news became worse and worse, until it was at last known that every fortress and town on the Syrian coast had been captured or evacuated and that not a foot of Christian territory was left in the Holy Land. The Order of St. John in the East had been practically annihilated. It was not long before despatches were received from the Grand Master ordering Brother Peter de Hakeham, the Grand Prior, and all the able-bodied brethren in the Province to report themselves at the Convent* now temporarily established at Limassol in Cyprus, where the Chapter-General was to meet the following year. At this historic meeting the future of the Order was decided. It was resolved that it should remain for the present at Limassol, and that it must always remain as close to Palestine as possible, in order to be ever in readiness to conquer the Holy Places should opportunity occur. In order to carry out their charitable duties, a Hospital for the poor and pilgrims was again established, and for the protection of pilgrims visiting the Holy Land a squadron of galleys was equipped to escort them across the

* The word "Convent" is always used in the Order of St. John in a technical sense. Statute XIX, 2, defines it as follows: "The Convent is the place where the Master or his Lieutenant, the Church, the Infirmary, and the Inns, or eight Languages, are together."

seas. From now onwards the Order of St. John was to be a naval power. By this same chapter the Grand Priors were forbidden for the future to receive any novice without an express commission from the Grand Master, lest the establishment that the Order was capable of supporting should be exceeded, now that their rich Syrian possessions were lost.

Not only was the loss of Acre a heavy blow to the prestige and power of the Hospitallers in the East, but it also created a very serious and delicate situation for them in Europe. It was easy to say that the Order was no longer fulfilling the objects of its existence now that the Holy Land was lost, and their broad acres and great wealth were a temptation difficult for impecunious governments to resist. The danger first manifested itself in England and Portugal, and Edward I, always in need of money for his wars, seized and sequestered their revenues to his own use. He attempted to justify his action by the claim that as the Commanderies had been founded for the defence of the Holy Land, which was now lost, the revenues would be better employed in maintaining the poor than in supporting the brethren in luxury in Cyprus. However, Boniface VIII was not the type of Pope with whom specious arguments of that kind were likely to carry weight, the Order was under the particular protection of the papacy, and he made it perfectly clear that unless the sequestration were removed he should not hesitate to use the spiritual weapons at his disposal. The strength of the papal arguments convinced the King that the Order was indeed rendering most valuable services to Christendom, and no reasonable doubt of it was left when the Knights seized Rhodes in 1310, and resumed their ceaseless warfare in defence of the Catholic Faith with all their ancient zeal.

Far different was the fate of that other religious and military fraternity, the Order of the Temple of Solomon. Like their comrades of the Hospital, the Templars had poured out their blood in torrents in defence of the Holy Land. But once they were driven from Palestine a sort of paralysis seemed to come over the Order. Unlike the Hospitallers, they appeared to



From Rottiers

CARVED SLAB FROM THE AUBERGE OF ENGLAND AT RHODES.

have no plans for the future, no definite policy, no intention of finding new methods of justifying their existence. Their wealth was very great, almost as great as that of the Order of St. John, and there are indications that the brethren had become more demoralized by the pleasures and temptations of this world than those of the Hospital. It is not without reason that such a saying existed as "to drink like a Templar," whilst their pride had been notorious a century earlier. When Fulk of Neuilly told Richard Coeur-de-Lion to provide for his three evil daughters, Pride, Lust, and Luxury, the King made the bitter retort: "He bids me marry my daughters. I give Pride to the Templars, Lust to the Cistercians, and Luxury to the Bishops." The Templars had a determined and unscrupulous foe in Philip the Fair, King of France, who feared their immense political influence, coveted their wealth, and had vowed their destruction. The Pope, pledged to the French King, tried in vain to save the Order by suggesting an amalgamation with the Hospitallers. The Grand Master refused, and the end of the Templars in France was torture, shame, and death. The entire Order was finally abolished by a papal decree at the Council of Vienne in 1312, and the whole of its property transferred to the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

But in England, as elsewhere, there was the greatest difficulty in securing obedience to the papal decree, and Brother William de Tothale, then Grand Prior, never lived to see his Order enter into possession of the Templar property. Edward II had ordered the arrest of the Templars in January, 1308, and their lands had been placed in charge of certain persons called the "Guardians of the lands of the Templars," all rents and profits being paid to the royal exchequer. Almost from the first the King showed a tendency to regard the Templar property as if it were already his own, which called forth an immediate protest from the Pope. But no sooner was the Order abolished than he began to dispose of certain of its estates and informed the Grand Prior that he regarded the claim of the Pope to dispose of property in England without the consent of Parlia-

ment as derogatory to the royal dignity, following it up by presenting the Temple in London to his cousin, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and conferring other estates on his creditors. In the following year however the papal representations became of so urgent a nature that they could no longer be ignored, and the King directed all the property to be handed over to the representatives of the Grand Master and Order of St. John.

The Grand Priors were not long in discovering that the removal of the royal objections was scarcely more than the beginning of their real difficulties. Not only had many estates been bestowed upon powerful barons, who were quite determined not to part with them, but now the heirs of the original donors put forward the claim that, as the Order of the Temple was extinct, the estates should in justice revert to them, and enforced their claims by seizing possession. In vain a new Grand Prior, Richard Paveley, struggled to obtain respect for the rights of his Order, but not all the thunders of the Vatican, even to the extent of excommunication, could induce the possessors to give up the estates they had seized. At last his successor, Brother Thomas Archer, supported by the Pope and the Bishops, succeeded in 1324 in obtaining an Act of Parliament definitely vesting all the property of the Templars in the Order of St. John, that it might be used as the pious donors had intended for the defence of the Holy Land and the protection of the Catholic Faith in the East.

But the heirs of the donors had not the slightest intention of obeying an Act of Parliament if they could possibly avoid doing so. They at once petitioned for the repeal of the Act, on the grounds that its conditions were contrary to law, against all reason and opposed to the opinion of the judges. The great barons were equally determined to cling to the estates in their possession, and they simply claimed that Parliament had no right to interfere with the tenure of private property, and to dispose of their possessions without their consent. The Order of St. John, instead of benefiting by the transfer of the Templar lands, found itself impoverished by long and expensive litiga-

tion and brought to the verge of ruin. The Grand Prior was old and infirm and quite incapable of dealing with the intricate state of affairs that had arisen. So serious was the situation that the Grand Master selected Leonard de Tybertis, Grand Prior of Venice, as Visitor to the Priory of England, with full power to take whatever action he might think necessary. The Prior of Venice was a man of wide business experience, he had been Procurator-General of the Order at the Papal Court, and had been appointed by Fulk de Villaret, the conqueror of Rhodes, to serve on the special commission originally sent to take possession of the Templar lands in the West. At the request of the King, Brother Thomas Archer was deprived of his office and replaced temporarily by the Grand Prior of Venice. Within a year the sound judgment and business ability of the Italian Prior had evolved order out of chaos, capital had been realised to pay off debts contracted at usurious rates of interest, and in 1330 he was able to hand over the Priory to his successor, Brother Philip Thame, who was to control its destinies for no less than twenty-eight years.

Under the rule of Philip Thame the vexed question of the Templar lands was finally settled. A fresh Act of Parliament was passed in 1334 confirming the previous Act, and writs were issued to the Sheriffs ordering them to take possession in the King's name of all property unjustly withheld from the Order of St. John. But the Temple in London, the most famous of all the properties of the disgraced Order, did not finally pass into the possession of the Hospitallers until 1340, and they continued to let it out to the lawyers, who had been established there by Thomas Earl of Lancaster. The fate of the unhappy Templars, the majority of whom were certainly innocent of the crimes imputed to them, was pitiable in the extreme. The ecclesiastical council which had investigated their alleged offences had promised them a pension of fourpence a day, which with the purchasing power of money at that time was the equivalent of five shillings a day at the present time. But the pensions were never paid by the holders of their forfeited estates, and many of these veteran soldiers of the Church were in actual danger of starvation,

when the King, deeply moved, wrote to the Grand Prior asking him to have pity upon them.

It was now a generation since the Templars had been deprived of their lands in 1308. Many estates had changed hands several times over, and during that long period of strife and litigation much property had been irretrievably lost. Moreover, there must have been estates which for various reasons it was not tactful to claim, and there can be no doubt that in order to secure firm possession of the remainder the Grand Prior must have considered it prudent to withdraw his claims over many outlying properties. The estates of the extinct Order of the Temple when they finally reached the Order of St. John were by no means the same as they had been when they left the hands of the Templars thirty years before. But none the less they represented an immense addition to the possessions of the Order, and necessitated a complete re-organisation of its Commanderies, which presumably was the work of Brother Philip Thame during his long period of administration. Ten of the Commanderies* given in his report of 1338 ultimately ceased to be separate administrative units, and were replaced by ten new Commanderies formed from the estates shown in his report amongst the Temple lands, whilst the Member of Winkbourne expanded into a Commandery. These ten new Commanderies were :—

Baddesley in Hampshire,	Sandford in Oxford,
Egle in Lincoln,	Temple Balsall in Warwick,
Ribstone in Yorkshire,	Temple-Bruer in Lincoln,
Rotheley in Leicester,	Templecombe in Somerset,
Willoughton in Lincoln,	Temple Cressing in Essex.

The most important of these was the Commandery of Egle, which afterwards carried with it the title of Bailiff and the possession of the Grand Cross. But of the existing Commanderies given in Philip Thame's report, three—Halston, Sutton and Swingfield—had been already formed out of Temple lands.

Even when the Hospitallers had at last secured firm control

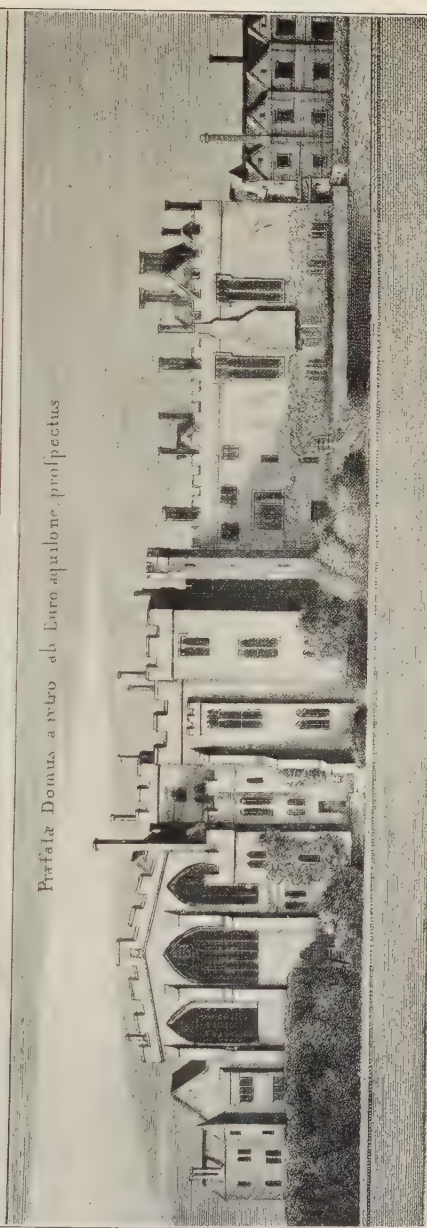
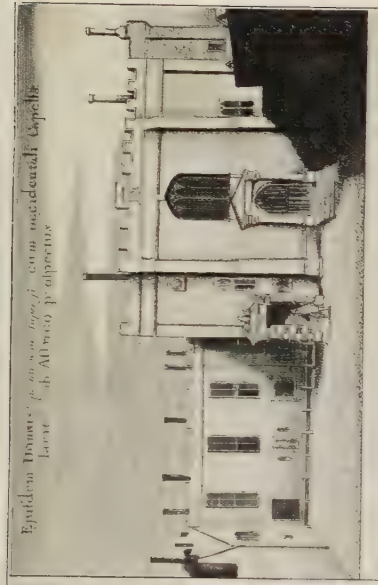
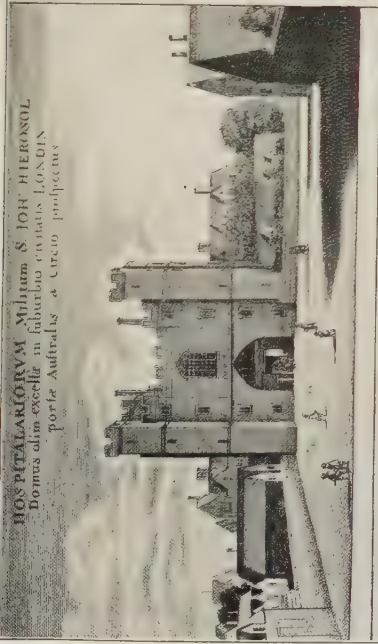
* Bothemescombe, Chibburn, Chippenham, Godesfield, Grafton, Hardwick, Maplestead, Skirbeck, Staundon and Sutton.

over the possessions of the Templars, it almost seemed as if the inheritance had brought a curse with it. Commanders suddenly found the value of their Commanderies almost doubled, young knights who had not yet earned the privilege suddenly found themselves appointed Commanders, and the Convent was almost deserted owing to the numbers who left for Europe to make good their claims to the property of the Templars. All discipline seemed on the verge of breaking down, when the famous Chapter-General of Montpellier met in 1331, and attempted to arrest the demoralisation by a regulation that no one should be eligible for any appointment whatever until he had resided five years in the Convent, and completed his "Caravans," or period of active service on board the galleys. Even this drastic order seemed powerless to check the degeneration caused by the sudden access of wealth, and twelve years later Pope Clement VI found it necessary to make the strongest representations in a letter to the Grand Master, in which he says :—

"We are informed by persons of merit and distinction that it is the common sentiment of the clergy, and indeed of all the Christian world, that you and your brother companions scarce make any good use of the immense estates you possess, as well on this side as beyond the sea. Those who have the administration of them ride, they say, fine horses, make good cheer, are richly dressed, are served in gold and silver, keep abundance of dogs and hawks for hunting and game, lay up great treasures, give little alms, and neglect the defence of the Christians, especially of those beyond sea. For this reason it has been under consideration whether it would not be proper for the Holy See to institute a new military order and endow it with part of your revenues, in order to raise and keep up a laudable emulation between the two Orders, as there was formerly between you and the Templars: this, however, we have not yet thought fit to put in execution out of the just confidence we have that you will immediately restore the ancient discipline and make a general reformation of manners in your Order."

This sharp reproof* of the Pope, combined with the stern lesson taught by the fate of the Templars and the threat to deprive the Order of its recently acquired wealth had the desired effect. Gradually the Order of St. John adjusted itself to its new conditions, gradually its discipline was restored to its old high standard, and the Knights of Rhodes by their dauntless courage, heroic devotion, and self-sacrificing zeal regained once more the confidence and admiration of the Christian world.

* Vertot, Book V, p. 254.



THE PRIORY OF ST. JOHN'S AT CLERKENWELL IN THE 17TH CENTURY.
From an engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1656

CHAPTER IV.

THE TRAGEDY OF 1381.

DURING the rule of Brother Philip Thame those great constitutional changes took place which gave to the Order of St. John its characteristic forms, and which were retained with but slight modification until the expulsion of the Order from Malta nearly five centuries later. There can be little doubt but that the sudden and dramatic end of the Templars must have caused the greatest forebodings for the future amongst their comrades of the Hospital. If the great wealth of the Templars had been for unscrupulous monarchs a temptation difficult to resist, how much greater was the temptation presented by the Hospitallers, who had now added to their own great possessions those of the ruined Order. As those high dignitaries who directed the affairs of the Hospital pondered over the sudden and complete collapse of so great and powerful an Order as the Temple, it must have become increasingly clear to them that one of the chief causes of their tragic end was the enormous preponderance of the French influence. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the Order of the Temple, though nominally international, was practically a French Order, with branches established in certain foreign lands. Consequently its suppression in France was a blow from which no recovery was ever possible. Now the state of affairs in the Order of St. John was not greatly dissimilar, it was an international Order it is true, but in it, too, the French influence was so predominant that were it to meet the same fate in France complete extinction would almost certainly follow. To show how strong the French influence was, it is only necessary to point

out that since the foundation of the Order every Grand Master had been a Frenchman, except the two Anglo-Normans who were probably more French than English, and Alfonso of Portugal, who himself sprang from a Burgundian family. The instinct of self-preservation clearly suggested the desirability of some change in the constitution, and it was strongly reinforced by the growing spirit of separatism amongst the brethren of the different nationalities. The combination of these two forces produced changes completely revolutionizing the constitution of the Order, and what had been a cosmopolitan Order became from now onwards a federation of national societies.

In the earlier years of its existence the Order of St. John had been purely international, one and indivisible, and in theory its offices and commanderies were conferred upon those most fitted to hold them regardless of nationality. All appointments were made in Chapter-General, and as the French influence was in a permanent majority, no doubt all the most desirable offices were in French hands. But gradually each national group of brethren began to consider that they had a right to expect the Commanderies of their native land to be bestowed upon them alone. The last foreign Grand Prior of England was Brother Theodoric de Nussa, a knight of German origin, and after 1247 every Grand Prior was an Englishman. When the great historic Chapter-General of 1331 met at Montpellier, the accepted custom was transferred into a fundamental principle of the constitution. The Order was now finally divided into seven national societies to which the name of Tongues* was given, each controlling its own purely internal affairs, but federated together under one head, the Grand Master, for all purposes necessitating united action, and having in common one supreme legislative assembly, the Chapter-General. But French influence

* In speaking of the national societies forming the Order of St. John, it has been customary amongst modern English writers to use the French word *Langue*, but such was never the custom of our ancestors, who always used the English word "Tongue," as may be seen in the Minute Book of the Tongue preserved in the Archives at Malta.

still remained supreme, since three out of the seven Tongues were French, and there was a real danger that they might practically monopolize the great offices of state, which carried with them a seat on the Grand Master's Council. To render this impossible, these offices were distributed amongst the different Tongues, one being irrevocably attached to each, with the exception of Germany, which was too unimportant owing to its small numbers. The knights holding these offices were known as the Conventual Bailiffs, since they were forbidden to leave the Convent, and they were usually spoken of as the Pillars of the respective Tongues of which they were the chiefs. But the influence of the French was sufficiently powerful to secure for themselves the three most important posts. The seven Tongues, afterwards eight*, and their Pillars, were as follows :—

Provence :	Grand Commander.
Auvergne :	Marshal.
France :	Hospitaller.
Italy :	Admiral.
Spain :	Drapier, later, Grand Conservator.
England :	Turcopolier.
Germany :	None until 1428†.

When we find that the French King, Phillip VI was strongly opposed to these constitutional changes, it is probably not without a certain significance, and it is difficult not to suspect that he may have been actually pondering over the feasibility of repeating with success against the Hospitallers the *grand coup* which his predecessor had carried out so ably and so brutally against the unfortunate Templars. It seems probable that the Order was in actual danger, and that these reforms

* To counterbalance the French influence, Spain was divided into two Tongues in 1462, Aragon, with the Drapier as its Pillar, retaining its original precedence, and the new Tongue of Castile and Portugal with the Grand Chancellor as its Pillar.

† Germany received a Conventual Bailiff in 1428, with the title of Grand Bailiff, to which was attached the Inspectorate of the Castle of Budrun.

were not only in themselves desirable, but were perhaps only just carried out in time.

Under the new constitution the Commanderies were definitely reserved for the exclusive use of the Tongue to which they belonged. All disputes and questions concerning Commanderies were settled in the Assembly of the Tongue, and the new commanders were nominated by the assembly for election by the Council. In practice, this meant that all Commanderies were conferred strictly by seniority, provided that the candidate was duly qualified. In the same way the Turcopolier was nominated by the Assembly of the Tongue, and almost always strictly in accordance with seniority. The office of Conventual Bailiff was the highest and most dignified in the Order, after that of Grand Master, but it had this disadvantage, that it necessitated residing permanently in the Convent. On the other hand, it carried with it the compensating privilege of the right to the first vacant Grand Priory or Bailiwick in the Tongue, that he cared to accept. In the Tongue of England, Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen could claim only the Commanderies situated in their respective countries. Thus the Turcopolier, if an Englishman, could claim either the Grand Priory of England or the Bailiwick of Egle, but he could not claim the Grand Priory of Ireland until after 1495, when Henry VII laid down that the Priory could only be held by an English-born knight, since Irish-born Priors had been showing too much and too active a sympathy with the turbulent native aristocracy.

The term Turcopolier needs explanation; it was the name given in Syria to the Commandant of the light cavalry of the Order called Turcoples, and the appointment was in early days sometimes conferred upon a Serving Brother. That the office of Turcopolier was selected for the Pillar of England was apparently due to the accident that at the Chapter-General of Montpellier the office happened to be held by an English knight, Brother John Braybrook. At Rhodes, and afterwards at Malta, the Turcopolier was commandant of the coastguard, and inspector of coast defences. But besides these duties, as Pillar of his Tongue he was responsible for the provision of an Auberge or

house for the lodging of the brethren of the Tongue in residence at the Convent, and also for their maintenance. The number of brethren was never very large, and the establishment, which was governed entirely by financial considerations, was the smallest of all the Tongues except that of Germany. In 1303, before the acquisition of the Templar estates, the establishment of brethren of the Convent in Cyprus consisted of eighty knights and serving brothers. Of these five only were English, but since each knight at that time was allowed two esquires, and each serving brother one esquire, the total strength of the contingent was between 10 and 15. After the acquisition of the Templar estates, when the establishment of the Convent at Rhodes was raised to 200 Knights and Serving Brothers, that of the Tongue of England was increased to 28. Apparently, whilst the revenue of the other Tongues tended to increase, that of England must have remained stationary. For in 1466 the establishment of the Convent was raised to 300 Knights, 30 Chaplains, and 20 Serving Brothers; in 1501 it was again increased to a total of 400 brethren, and in 1514 to 550, but the strength of the English contingent remained fixed at its original figure of 28. The Tongue seems to have had to rely almost entirely upon the Grand Priory of England, the Scottish contingent was necessarily infinitesimal since in their country there was only one* commandery, that of Torphichen, whilst the Grand Priory of Ireland, originally comprising 22 Commanderies, was of no serious value to the Order, owing to the chaos and anarchy constantly prevailing in that unhappy island. In times of special emergency a General Citation was issued by the Grand Master and Council, summoning all able-bodied brethren in the provinces to report for duty at the Convent.

Brother Philip Thame, who had guided the destinies of the Priory of England for a longer period than any other Grand Prior, and was perhaps the ablest of all its administrators, died in the year 1358. His successor, Brother John Pavely, ruled for

* There was at one time a Commandery of Balantrodach, formed from the Templar estates but it was ultimately absorbed in that of Torphichen. See *Mifsud* p. 74.

thirteen years, and was followed in 1371 by Brother Robert Hales, who, for a brief space, was to play a prominent part on the stage of English History, and whose tragic end will ever be remembered in the Order, which he loved and served so well. Robert Hales is first heard of as Commander of Slebeche and Sanford, and in 1358 is described as Bailiff of Egle and Commander of Beverley. He took part in that famous attack on Alexandria in 1365, when the Grand Master Raymond Berenger, in alliance with Peter I of Cyprus, "the last of the Crusaders," carried the great city by escalade in spite of a stubborn and spirited defence. "Never was a more furious and bloody attack known" we are told*, and in it the Order of St. John lost over one hundred Knights. Brother Robert Hales so distinguished himself that the Grand Master conferred upon him a Commandery of Grace, and in 1371 he took up his residence at Clerkenwell as Grand Prior of England.

At this time the rapid expansion of the military power of the Turks was a cause of the gravest uneasiness throughout the East, and in 1375 the immense preparations of the Sultan Amurath I convinced the new Grand Master, Robert de Juilly, that a serious attack would be made the following year, either upon Rhodes or upon Smyrna, then in the possession of the Order. His urgent representations to the Pope caused Gregory XI, in his capacity as first superior of the Order, to convene an assembly of the chief Commanders at Avignon in November, an assembly at which, no doubt, the Grand Prior of England was present. In view of the magnitude and imminence of the danger, it was decided to send out a special reinforcement to Rhodes in the following March, to consist of 500 Knights and 500 Serving Brothers. The Grand Priors were to nominate the knights they considered fit for active service, and each knight was to select a Serving Brother to go with him, from which it is evident that at this period the latter were regarded as esquires to the knights. In December the Pope wrote a personal letter to Edward III requesting him to permit the Grand Prior of

* Vertot, Book V, p. 269.

England with 38 knights and 38 serving brothers to proceed to the East for a campaign against the Turks.

But at this critical moment the Grand Master thought fit to raise a question of extreme delicacy, and one fraught with possibilities of the gravest friction. The King of England still claimed rights of suzerainty over Scotland, and since the "Meeting of Norham" in 1291, when Brother Alexander Welles, Prior of Scotland, had taken an oath of fealty to the King, the Grand Priors appear to have regarded the Scottish Priory as a Commandery of their Province, to which they had the right of nominating Commanders. To such a claim Scottish national feeling must necessarily have been antagonistic, and the Grand Master, perhaps forgetting the neutrality of his high position, and remembering only that as a Frenchman he was opposed to any English claims upon Scotland, early in 1376 appointed a Scotsman to the Priory which was then vacant. The Grand Prior was furious at such an infringement upon what he evidently regarded as his rightful prerogative, and flatly declined to pay his Responsions, or annual contribution to the revenues of the Order. The situation was rendered still more delicate by the attitude of the English Government, which appears to have regarded the Grand Master's action as deliberately provocative, and at once placed a sequestration upon the whole of the revenues of the Order in England. The Grand Master, alarmed at the result of his hasty and ill-considered action, could do nothing but appeal to the Pope for assistance. Gregory XI, himself a Frenchman, after considering the customs and precedents involved, gave his verdict in favour of the Grand Master, and wrote to the Grand Prior appealing to his loyalty, and hinting at the necessity he might be under of making use of his spiritual weapons. The Grand Prior, now that his first anger was over, recalled to a sense of his duty, acted as mediator with the Government, and in due course the sequestration was removed. But the confidence of the Government in the Grand Prior was perhaps shown by his appointment to be admiral of the King's Western Fleet.

Shortly after, Brother Robert Hales left for the East with the English contingent of 38 knights and 38 serving brothers.

The Grand Master Robert de Juilly had died in the June of that year, and at Marseilles, in September, the Grand Prior joined the force assembled there by the new Master, John d'Heredia, who, accompanied by the Grand Priors of St. Gilles and Rome, was about to proceed to Rhodes. But the decision of the Pope to transfer the seat of the Papacy from Avignon to Rome, and his desire to be escorted there by the Knights of St. John, necessitated a modification in the Grand Master's plans. His squadron of nine galleys only reached Genoa on October 18th, after encountering a severe storm off the coast of Provence. Christmas was spent at Corneto, and then on January 17th, 1377, Gregory XI made his State entry into Rome, preceded by the Grand Priors of England, St. Gilles and Rome. The expedition was now free to continue its voyage to Rhodes, and the Grand Master and three Priors, after taking leave of the Pope, went on board their galleys at Ostia. Off the coast of Crete they encountered a Venetian fleet, about to attempt the recapture of Patras from the Turks, and at the request of its admiral, the Grand Master consented to join in the enterprise. Patras was carried by escalade, and the Grand Master in spite of his great age was the first up the ladders and slew the Turkish governor with his own hand, cutting off his head. For this reason he is often represented with a Turk's head in his right hand. But in an attempt on Corinth that followed he was taken prisoner. In vain the chivalrous Grand Prior of England, the very model of Chaucer's "Verray parfit gentil knight," with his brothers of St. Gilles and Rome, at once offered themselves as hostages to the Turks for the ransom of their superior, if only they would release him. But the Grand Master refused to allow the sacrifice to be made, saying that their Order could more easily spare an old man like himself than three young and vigorous knights, and so in sorrow and bitter disappointment they continued their voyage to Rhodes.

How long the Grand Prior remained in Rhodes, it is now impossible to say, but the threatened Turkish attack fell elsewhere, and it soon became clear that all imminent danger had passed away for the present. It does not seem probable that he can



PLAN OF THE PRECINCTS OF THE PRIORY OF ST. JOHN'S AT
CLERKENWELL.

BY H. W. FINCHAM, F.S.A.

(Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of
H.M. Stationery Office.)

still have been there for the Chapter-General of 1380 which deemed it necessary to lay down* that "the collations which the Grand Master and Council should make of the Commanderies of Europe should be received with submission, notwithstanding the pretensions of some Priors, who had assumed to themselves a right of naming to those Commanderies that fell vacant within their Priories." It was no doubt the claim of the Grand Prior of England to nominate to the Priory of Scotland that had made the regulation necessary.

When the Grand Prior returned to England from Rhodes, he returned to a country seething with discontent, in which all the accumulated grievances of a generation were about to burst into flame. Political discontent at the mismanagement and humiliation of the long-drawn-out French war, combined with the social discontent caused by a continual effort to force the labourer to work for a lower wage than the market-price, were about to result in open rebellion. In the autumn of 1380 Parliament chose this particular moment of all others to increase the revenue by a heavy Poll Tax, and at the New Year the Treasurer resigned in despair. It required a brave man and a sincere patriot with a strong sense of duty to accept such an office at such a moment, but the Grand Prior consented to fill the vacancy and face the rising storm. The people met the demands for the new tax by a form of passive resistance, almost every village rendering a ludicrously false return of the numbers liable to pay. The Grand Prior retorted by sending down commissioners to check the returns with the actual population, and then the storm burst.

On the first days of June in 1381, the Essex men were up in arms under a Londoner named Thomas Farringdon, a personal enemy of the Grand Prior, who according to Farringdon had wrongfully deprived him of certain tenements. On the 10th they burned the Commandery of Temple Cressing, which belonged to the Grand Prior, and next day marched on London, where they camped on the 12th at Mile End. The Kentish men,

* Vertot. Book V, p. 285.

rising a few days later, also marched on London, and by the 12th were camped on Blackheath under the notorious Wat Tyler, a disreputable old soldier of the French wars who, since his discharge, appears to have gained a precarious livelihood as a highwayman. Whilst the rebels were inspired by a vague general wish for the redress of all grievances, they had a very definite desire for the heads of the traitors, as they called the King's ministers, and more especially for the heads of Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, as Chancellor, was head of the Ministry, and of the Grand Prior, who, as Treasurer, was considered responsible for the hated Poll Tax. To the unthinking mob the saintly Archbishop and chivalrous Grand Prior seemed the very personification of all their troubles: the latter they had nicknamed Hobbe the Robber, and with a fierce pleasantry they swore to shave their beards for them.

On the morning of Thursday, the 13th, John Ball, the mad priest of Kent, inflamed the already excited mob to the highest pitch of frenzy by an impassioned sermon on Christian communism, taking as his text his famous rhyme:—

“ When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ? ”

Early that afternoon they burst into the City, the Kentish men over London Bridge, and the Essex men by Aldgate. The first desire of the mob was for food and drink, and then murder and arson quickly became the order of the day. By four o'clock a great horde was pouring down the Strand to destroy the Duke of Lancaster's beautiful palace of “ The Savoy,” which speedily went up in flames, its destruction being completed by the explosion of three barrels of gunpowder. On their return they sacked and burnt the Temple, doubly hateful to them as a possession of their arch-enemy, the Grand Prior, and the home of the lawyers, whom they regarded as the oppressors of the people. Of the latter, one who was evidently an eye-witness remarks: “ It was marvellous to see how even the most aged and infirm of them scrambled off with the agility of rats and evil spirits.” It was dark by the time the rebels had finished

their work of destruction at the Temple. But in spite of that, with Thomas Farringdon riding at their head, and shouting imprecations against the Grand Prior, they moved off to attack the Priory of St. John at Clerkenwell. Breaking in the great entrance gates, they swarmed into the quadrangle, and began systematically plundering the buildings. In the church they found seven unhappy Flemings clinging to the High Altar for sanctuary, but the mob, inspired with a fierce hatred for all foreigners, dragged them outside and butchered them. Then, having finished their work, they set fire to the church, hospital, mansion and all, and the great Priory, headquarters of the Order of St. John in England, went up to heaven in flames. That night a great mob camped on Tower Hill and St. Catherine's Wharf, clamouring for the blood of Hobbe the Robber and the Traitor Sudbury.

Next morning at 7 o'clock the boy King rode off to Mile End to meet Wat Tyler and the rebels, in accordance with an agreement made during the night. It was hoped that this move would cause those who were watching the Tower to withdraw, and so give an opportunity to the Archbishop and the Grand Prior to escape. But the implacable Thomas Farringdon had no intention of letting his enemy slip through his fingers in that way, and remained behind watching with a strong body of men. The Archbishop attempted to slip out by the little Water Gate, and escape by boat, but a woman who was watching raised the alarm and he returned. Then Wat Tyler, after his interview with the King at Mile End, leaving the main body of his followers there, hurried back to the Tower and rejoined Farringdon. The two leaders at the head of a strong detachment of rebels burst into the fortress, meeting with no resistance from the garrison, and their men scattered in all directions, hunting for their victims. The two doomed ministers, realising for some time that their end was not far distant, had withdrawn to the Chapel to prepare themselves to meet their Maker. First the Archbishop heard the confession of the Grand Prior and granted him absolution, then the two partook of Holy Communion together. They heard two or three masses, then the Arch-

bishop chanted the "Commendacione," and the "placebo," and the "dirige," and the seven penitential psalms, and last of all the Litany, and as he reached the words "Omnes sancti orate pro nobis" the howling mob burst into the Chapel. Mercifully their end was not long delayed. Cruelly buffeted and spat upon, cursed and reviled by the screaming rabble, they met their end on Tower Hill with the calm dignity befitting their high rank. The gentle and kindly Archbishop* of Canterbury was the first to suffer on the rough log that served as a block, the clumsy headsman, a half-witted rascal John Starling by name, taking eight blows of his axe to sever the head from the body. Then came the turn of that gallant soldier and chivalrous knight, the Grand Prior. The chronicler Walsingham summed up his character and his fate in the words "a magnanimous knight though the commons loved him not." But what can be said of the 400 knights and gentlemen, men-at-arms and archers forming the garrison of the Tower, who made no resistance to the entry of a half-armed mob, and never drew sword or bow to prevent the atrocity that followed? Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that the King's mother, the Princess of Wales, was in their charge, and that for that reason they feared to provoke the rabble. They are best left to the judgment of their own age, and the writers of that time unite in pouring scorn upon them; happily such incidents were rare in the age of chivalry.

Placing the heads of the Archbishop and the Grand Prior upon pikes, the former with his mitre nailed to his brows, the "Commons of England," as they insolently styled themselves, paraded their ghastly trophies in triumph through the City. They even carried them as far as Westminster Abbey, to show the horrified monks how they had "shaved the beards" of Sudbury the Traitor and Hobbe the Robber. Then returning to London Bridge, they placed the heads over the gateway, that all who

*The Archbishop died like a martyr, and doubtless he would have been canonized, but his gentle nature had revolted at the idea of persecuting the heretic Lollards, for which he was never forgiven by the fierce bigots of the day.

passed by might see them. In the bitterness of their hatred for the dead Grand Prior they even sent out a detachment to Highbury under a ruffian named Jack Straw, who burnt his manor house there to the ground.

But Wat Tyler's "hurling time," as the people afterwards called the reign of terror he established, was not to be of long duration, and vengeance was near at hand. The following morning, Saturday, the 15th, that redoubtable leader was cut down in Smithfield by the Lord Mayor, and the young King, filled with the inspired confidence of youth, placing himself at the head of his distracted followers, led them out to St. John's Fields, where the ruins of the Priory were still smouldering, and there they were dispersed later in the day by Sir Robert Knolles with a detachment of men-at-arms and a strong force of armed citizens. Of the leaders, Jack Straw and John Starling were executed the following day, John Ball, the priest, escaped for the moment, but was caught a month later, and executed on July 15th. Thomas Farrington, the Grand Prior's enemy, for what reason we do not know, was merely imprisoned in Devizes Castle for eight months, and then pardoned.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE murdered Grand Prior was succeeded by Brother John Redington,* Commander of Ribstone, who was granted the privilege by the Grand Master of also holding the Bailiwick of Egle as the fifth Commandery of his appanage. He resigned the Bailiwick in 1386, which was then conferred upon Brother Brian de Grey, the Turcopolier, and it was presumably only after his death three years later that the Bailiwick began to carry with it the Grand Cross and a seat on the Council of the Order. Upon Brother John Redington fell the task of rebuilding the ruined Priory, and it was perhaps to meet the heavy expenditure entailed that he was permitted to hold Egle for over four years, the richest Commandery in England. In rebuilding the Church, the old round nave was replaced by one of the usual rectangular form, ninety feet in length. That the work of restoration was practically completed by this Grand Prior before his death in 1399 is proved by the fact that Henry IV took up his residence there for two weeks, just before his coronation.

Redington's successor, Brother Walter Grendon, Commander of Halston, not only had the honour of entertaining the new King, but in the following year the restored Priory was selected as the residence of the Emperor Manuel II during his visit to the English Court. On the advice of Marshal de Boucicault, the Emperor was making a prolonged tour of the Courts of Western Europe, in the hope of making them realise the

* Like his predecessor, this Grand Prior was also appointed Admiral of the King's Western Fleet in 1385.

importance of supporting his crumbling Empire, which had so long been the bulwark of Christianity against the advancing hordes of Islam. From Paris he had proceeded to Dover, and, after being entertained by the monks of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, was met on Blackheath with great magnificence by Henry IV and the English Court. Together the two monarchs passed through London, and December 21st, 1400, must have been a day long remembered by the Knights of St. John, when the Emperor of the East and the King of England rode in state through the great gateway of their Priory. It was doubly suitable as a residence for the Emperor, since most of the brethren must have served in the East and have been acquainted with the Greek language and customs. They would certainly be less astonished and scandalised than the doctors of the Sorbonne* by the language, rites and vestments of the Greek clergy. In fact, it was rather the Greeks who were scandalised by the customs of the English, if we are to judge by the accounts of the historian Chalcocondyles.

The rule of John Redington and Walter Grendon coincides with that painful period in the history of the Order when the Knights of Rhodes were divided against themselves. The Great Schism which split the Church in 1378 equally divided the Order of St. John. And whilst the Tongues of Italy and England accepted the Italian Pope, the remainder of the Order, including the Convent at Rhodes, regarded the anti-Pope at Avignon as alone legitimate. Even the Tongue of England was divided, for the Priors of Scotland declined to acknowledge the Italian Pontiff. Matters came to a head in 1383, when Urban VI solemnly deposed John d'Hérédia, the Grand Master, and appointed in his place Brother Richard Caracciolo, Grand Prior of Capua. The Convent of Rhodes ignored the Pope's action and continued its allegiance to Hérédia, but the situation was destructive to all discipline. With two rival Grand Masters claiming the revenues of the Order, the more worldly-minded Commanders simply ceased to pay their

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Chapter LXVI.

Responsions, and spent them on their own pleasures. In 1395 Caracciolo died, and Boniface IX refrained from appointing a new Grand Master, nominating a relative of his, Brother Boniface de Caramandra, to be Lieutenant-Master, and after his decease, Brother Peter Carafa, Grand Prior of Rome, thus preserving the fiction that the Grand Mastery was vacant. The following year Hérédia died, and the Convent elected in his place Brother Philibert de Naillac, Grand Prior of Aquitaine.

In 1409 it seemed for the moment as if the Council of Pisa had ended the Schism, and the new Pope Alexander V issued a bull declaring Philibert de Naillac to be the only legitimate Grand Master, and ordering all the brethren of the Order to render him obedience on pain of excommunication. To deal with the abuses that had grown up as a result of the Schism, a Chapter-General was summoned to meet at Aix in Provence to consist of the Grand Priors and four senior Commanders of each Priory. At this Chapter it was considered necessary to pass a definite statute forbidding Grand Priors to deprive Commanders of their seignorial rights over Commanderies, from which it is evident that the breakdown in discipline had resulted in a gross abuse of their powers by those dignitaries. Another result of the Schism was that Grand Priors and Provincial Chapters had resumed the right of electing to Commanderies, which in the past had meant ignoring the claims of seniority, and substituting gross favouritism under the guise of selection. That the Grand Prior of England was not present at this Chapter-General is more than probable, since the Grand Master was himself on a mission to England at that time. The Pope had placed him at the head of a special embassy to the French and English Kings, in the hope of negotiating a firm peace between those two monarchs, and on March 8th 1410 Henry IV granted a safe conduct for him and a suite of one hundred persons with their horses, goods and harness.* Philibert de Naillac was one of the only four Grand Masters to visit the Priory at Clerkenwell.

* Taaffe, Vol. II, p. 334.

Unfortunately the only result of the Council of Pisa was to aggravate the Great Schism, by replacing two rival Popes by three, and it was not until the Council of Constance in 1417 that it was ended by the election of Pope Martin V. To restore discipline in the Order after 40 years of chaos was no easy task, especially in the Tongue of Italy, and required all the diplomatic skill of the Grand Master. The famous Chapter-General of re-union was held at Rhodes in 1421, and there the great schism which had so long divided the Order, as it had divided the Church, was finally healed. There the Priors and Bailiffs who had been under different obediences made a solemn recognition of the Grand Master as their only head and superior, and all embraced each other with joy to see their Order once more united. We are particularly told that the Priors and Bailiffs of the Tongue of England were present, and their names are fortunately still preserved: they were Brother Thomas Skipworth the Turcopolier, William Hules, Prior of England, Richard Paule, Prior of Ireland, and Henry Crownhall, Bailiff of Egle. With the re-union of his beloved Order, it seemed as if the life-work of this great and good Grand Master was finished. Scarcely had he received the papal brief confirming the proceedings of the Chapter-General, than he was taken seriously ill, and in the words of the French historian* "ended his days with a tranquillity that may be considered as a presage of the felicity which heaven designed for him."

For twelve years after the termination of the Great Schism, Brother William Hules continued to direct the fortunes of the Priory of England, and on his death in 1433 was succeeded by Brother Robert Mallory, Commander of Greenham Balsall and Grafton. The new Grand Prior appears to have celebrated his promotion by the dedication of a chapel to Saints Catherine, Margaret, and Ursula in the Priory Church. But his short period of rule was not destined to be one of repose. Bars Bey, the energetic Sultan of Egypt, finding the Knights of Rhodes the chief obstacle to his conquest of Cyprus, made peace with that

* Vertot, Book VI, p. 322.

country, in order to be free to devote all the resources of his kingdom to crushing the Order of St. John. So grave did the situation appear that in 1435 the Grand Master considered it necessary to issue a General Citation, fixing the contingent to be sent out to the East from each Priory at 25 Knights. A general citation was practically a mobilization of all the brethren of the Order, and at the rate of 25 to each Priory would produce a reinforcement of about 500 Knights. The Grand Prior went out to Rhodes in person at the head of his contingent, but the extensive preparations of the Grand Master caused the Sultan to reconsider his plans, and the danger from Egypt was postponed for a few years longer.

NOTE.—During the great schism the Tongue of England accepting the legitimate line of Popes rendered nominal allegiance to the following Grand Master and Lieutenant Masters :—

Richard Caracciolo, Prior of Capua, 1383-1395.

Bartholomew Carafa, 1395.

Boniface de Caramandra, 1395-1400.

Peter Carafa, Prior of Rome, 1400-1405.

Nicholas Orsini, Prior of Venice, 1405-1409.

After the Council of Pisa in 1409, the Grand Master Philibert de Naillac was acknowledged.

Robert Malory died in 1440, and was succeeded by Brother Robert Botyll, Commander of Melchbourne Anstey and Trebigh, who was to rule the Order in England for nearly as long a period as Brother Philip Thame. In the early days of his rule the chief concern of the Priory at Clerkenwell was the imminent danger that once more threatened the Order in the East. Bars Bey, the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, had been succeeded by one of his former ministers, Jakmak, who was determined to carry out the plans of his predecessor, and in 1440 sent a strong squadron of 18 galleys to ravage the islands of the Religion*. They were repulsed with heavy losses in a succession of engagements at sea, and the Sultan, furious at the humiliation, began serious preparations for a siege of Rhodes. John de Lastic, the Grand Master,

* The Order of St. John was frequently spoken of simply as "the Religion," in such phrases as "the galleys of the Religion, the banner of the Religion, the ambassador of the Religion," etc., etc.

in 1441 issued a General Citation to meet the danger, and once more the Knights of England flocked out to the East to fight for the Catholic Faith and the honour of their Order. There was heavy fighting at sea in 1442, and then in 1444 a great Egyptian armada, too powerful for the galleys of the Religion, landed a force of 18,000 Mamelukes. The island of Rhodes was ravaged from end to end, and at last the siege of the City began, a siege which lasted forty days, but of which history unfortunately records few details.* The Egyptian camp was pitched near St. Anthony's Church, and their batteries concentrated their fire on the outlying fort covering the entrance to the Harbour of the Galleys, where the Castle of St. Nicholas was afterwards built, and on the curtain wall linking the Harbour to St. Peter's Tower. By the middle of August the curtain wall began to show a serious breach, and John de Lastic decided to take the offensive and to make a sortie in force with all the troops at his disposal. On August 24th, in the darkness of early morning the garrison silently filed out of the fortress and formed up in front of the ditch, light troops in front, supported by a stand of pikes and the archers on the flanks. As soon as daylight began to appear the drums and trumpets sounded the charge, and the Egyptian camp was successfully rushed. A great number of the Mamelukes were killed, and the remainder, taken completely by surprise, fled in panic to their galleys and hastily embarked, abandoning guns, stores and baggage to the victorious garrison. In this glorious victory many English Knights must have played their part, but the name of one only is now known to us for certain, that of their commander, Brother Hugh Middleton, the Turcopolier and Pillar of England.

Whether the Grand Prior was at the siege of Rhodes is not definitely recorded, but the great esteem in which he was held by John de Lastic is proved by the fact that at the Chapter-General held at Rome in 1446, he was one of the commission of three appointed by the Grand Master to exercise his powers in his absence. That he was held in equal esteem in his own country

* See De Belabre "Rhodes of the Knights," p. 28.

is also evident, since he was among the most trusted advisers of Henry VI. When that unfortunate monarch showed signs of recovery from the state of imbecility into which he had fallen in 1453, it was the Grand Prior and the Bishop of Winchester who were first admitted to audience with him on January 7th in the following year, and we are told that he spoke to them as well as he had ever done. The Grand Prior and the Bishop were deeply affected by their interview with the gentle and saintly King, and as they came out from the audience chamber they wept tears of joy, and related how the King had told them that he was in charity with all the world, and only wished that the great Lords were the same. When the Yorkists occupied London in 1460, the Grand Prior joined their forces, and marched with them to the Battle of Northampton, in which the King was taken prisoner. Whether his conduct is only another example of that ingratitude and faithlessness which stained the reputation of so many of the great men of that age, is difficult to say. Possibly he had hoped in some way to be able to assist that most unhappy King, over whose restoration to health he had wept tears of joy only six years before. Robert Botyll died in the year 1467,* and there are still three memorials of him in existence. In the Priory Church at Clerkenwell there is a window containing a small stained glass shield of his arms, bearing the arms of the Order in chief, and in a window of the Chapter House of Exeter Cathedral there is another small shield with his arms impaling those of the Order. The latter was, perhaps, erected when he was Commander of Trebigh, in Cornwall. There is also a window bearing his arms in Islington Parish Church.

Few Knights have had a more distinguished career in the Order of St. John than Brother John Langstrother, Bailiff of Egle and Grand Commander of Cyprus, who succeeded Robert Botyll as Grand Prior of England. Born in 1416, he was the son of Thomas Langstrother of Crosthwaite. His elder brother, William Langstrother, was also a Knight of the Order,

* The death of Prior Robert Botyll is generally given as 1469, but apparently it took place in September, 1467. See Ramsay "*Lancaster and Yorks*," Vol. II, p. 333.



THE EXECUTION OF FR. JOHN LANGSTROTHER.

GRAND PRIOR OF ENGLAND, 6TH MAY, 1471.

(From a contemporary MS. in the University Library, Ghent, by the courtesy of its Chief Librarian.)

and when John Langstrother was appointed Bailiff of Egle, in 1464, it was in succession to his brother, who had held the Bailiwick for over twenty years. In 1448 we find John Langstrother Commander of Dalby, and acting as Lieutenant-Turcopolier, and he seems to have spent the greater part of his career in the East. He was Castellan of Rhodes in 1453, when he was sent on a special mission to England as Receiver-General. High in the favour of the Grand Master Orsini, whose election he had largely influenced, he was appointed by him Seneschal and Grand Commander of Cyprus, the richest and most desirable of all the Bailiwicks of the Order. It is more than probable that had it not been for the tragic fate which was so soon to befall him in England, he might have crowned his career on the death of Orsini by being the only English Grand Master of Rhodes.

No sooner was their Grand Prior dead in September, 1467, than the Knights of Rhodes residing in England presented to the King the name of John Langstrother as his successor. But Edward IV well knew the loyal devotion of Langstrother to his predecessor Henry VI, whom he now held a prisoner in the Tower, and flatly declined to consider the appointment. He even went further, and ignoring all the customs and rules of the Order, made the preposterous suggestion that the Knights should accept as their Grand Prior one of the Queen's family, young Richard Woodville, then only a boy and not even a member of their Order. The Knights could only point out that the election was in the hands of the Grand Master and Council, who were never likely to consider such a suggestion. For two years the office of Grand Prior remained vacant, but by 1469 Langstrother had arrived in England from the East, and when in the summer of that year Warwick, the King-maker, had secured control of the government by armed force, he found himself appointed Treasurer, an ill-omened post for a Knight of St. John, which had cost a Grand Prior his head not a hundred years before. When three months later Edward IV was able once more to assert himself, he declined to permit Langstrother to continue in office as Treasurer, but did consent to accept him as Grand Prior of England.

In the spring of 1470 the Earl of Warwick was forced to quit the country, but returned in the autumn, and Edward IV himself fled to the Continent. The party of Henry VI was now definitely in the ascendant, and that unfortunate monarch was withdrawn from the Tower, in which he had been a prisoner for over five years, and restored to his throne. Amongst his new ministers was the gallant and chivalrous Grand Prior, who had never wavered in his loyalty to the gentle and pious King, and was now re-appointed Treasurer. But in the following spring Edward IV returned, seized London and defeated and slew Warwick at the Battle of Barnet. The Grand Prior meanwhile had left for the West of England to receive Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales, who were about to return from their long exile in France, and landed at Weymouth on April 14th, the very day that the Battle of Barnet was fought. At the fatal field of Tewkesbury on May 4th, 1471, the Grand Prior commanded the centre of Queen Margaret's army, sharing the command with the young Prince of Wales and Lord Wenlock. The Queen's forces suffered a crushing defeat, the Prince of Wales was taken prisoner and brutally murdered in the very presence of Edward IV, and the Grand Prior and other leaders took sanctuary in Tewkesbury Abbey, where they were seized by the victors. They were beheaded two days later on May 6th. So perished John Langstrother, one of the noblest of the Grand Priors of England, who in an age of universal corruption had kept his honour unsullied and died at last in the service of that King whom after generations regarded as almost a saint. His body was not dismembered, and was afterwards reverently buried* in the Priory Church at Clerkenwell.

Of Langstrother's successor, Brother William Tornay, Bailiff of Egle, and at one time Receiver-General in England, there is little to record, and in 1476 he was succeeded by the Turcopolier, Brother John Weston. The new Grand Prior had been General of the Galleys at the time when the Religion was sup-

* A headless skeleton, believed to be that of Langstrother, was found during some excavations in the crypt of the Priory Church not many years ago. See Fincham, p.70.

porting the claims of Charlotte de Lusignan to be Queen of Cyprus, and the Venetians were supporting her rival, Catherine Cornaro. The manner in which he avoided difficulties, whilst continuing to co-operate with the Venetians against the Turks, was highly praised by the Grand Master and Council. His period of rule as Grand Prior was rendered famous by the Grand Master D'Aubusson's brilliant defence of Rhodes against the Turks, but in English history it is chiefly remembered by that curious assembly held in the great hall of the Priory a little before Easter in 1485. There Richard III had summoned the great Lords of the realm, and the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, to hear him solemnly and publicly deny the scandalous and not unfounded rumour that he intended to marry the Princess Elizabeth, his own brother's daughter.

John Weston died in 1489, and was succeeded by the Turcopolier, Brother John Kendall, who had commanded the English Knights in the siege of Rhodes. He is the first of the Grand Priors whose appearance is known to us, since he had a portrait medal struck commemorating the famous siege, and which can be seen in the British Museum. At his death in 1501 he was succeeded by the Turcopolier, Brother Thomas Docwra, the best known of all the Grand Priors of England, under whose rule was to begin that stormy period which culminated in the downfall of the Order in this country.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COMMANDERS AND BAILIFFS.

THE brethren of the Order of St. John were a religious and military fraternity, who had taken the vows and made their profession in the Order for life "in the service of the poor and in the defence of the Catholic Faith, to maintain and observe with the grace of God the three things that they have promised, viz: Chastity, obedience, and to pass their lives without possessing anything in property." Like other Religious they made their life's career in their Order, and after long and good service in the Convent they expected to find their reward in the administration of a Commandery in their native land. The term Commandery, in the words of the Statutes* "comprehended the Priors, Castellany of Amposta, Bailiwicks, demesnes, members, houses, lands and estates of all sorts belonging to the Order." Whilst Boisgelin† defines the word "Members" for us as estates "which were not originally thought sufficiently considerable to be made Commanderies." Originally these estates were farmed out to laymen paying an annual rent. But they obviously had no interest in the welfare of the Order, and with most of the brethren away in the Convent it was almost impossible to exercise effective control over tenants beyond the seas. Accordingly the system was changed, and the estates were grouped together into administrative units known at first as Preceptories, and afterwards as Commanderies. In charge of each a senior member of the

* Statutes XIX. 15.

† Ancient and Modern Malta. Appendix XXII., p. 301.



From a contemporary medal in the British Museum.

FR. JOHN KENDAL.

GRAND PRIOR OF ENGLAND, 1489-1501.

Order was placed, who might belong to any one of its three classes, and was termed its Commander.

The Commanderies were not at first merely administrative units, but were also little communities of brethren leading a conventual life. We know that in the middle of the 14th century in England the Commanderies contained on the average about three brethren, and that as late as the first half of the 15th century they were sometimes required to receive young knights into residence.* But gradually this conventual life in the Commanderies passed away, and by the 16th century and perhaps earlier we find the administration in the hands of the Commanders alone, who led a life very similar to that of the country gentlemen around them, with the exception that marriage was forbidden to them. They were of course however always liable in times of emergency to be called up to the Convent for military duty. At first the Commanders were supposed to send the whole of their revenue to the Convent after deducting what was absolutely necessary for the support of the community. But this led to abuses of an obvious nature, and at the Chapter-General of Ceasarea in 1260 it was laid down that Commanders should pay to the Convent a fixed proportion of their revenues known as "Responsions," and generally calculated at one-third of their gross receipts. But Responsions were always liable to be increased by the Chapter-General in times of emergency. In great Commanderies such as the Priories of Clerkenwell, Kilmainham in Ireland, and Torphichen in Scotland, where large administrative staffs were necessarily kept, the conventual life was doubtless maintained down to their dissolution.

Down to 1354 appointments to Commanderies were in the hands of the Grand Prior and the Provincial Chapter, but at the

* NOTE.—See the case of the Commander of Cagnac in the Priory of Toulouse, who during the Mastership of Anthony Fluvian refused to receive a young knight assigned to him, and sent him on to the Commander of St. Sulpice. The Grand Master threatened to deprive the Commander of his habit and Commandery unless he maintained and provided for the knight assigned to him.

Chapter-General held in that year the power to make such appointments was transferred to the Grand Master in Council, with due consideration for the rank, age and services of the brethren. Nominations were made in the Convent by the Assembly of the Tongue and confirmed by the Council, and in practice all appointments were strictly according to seniority. But there were two exceptions to this rule: the Grand Master had the right to nominate to a Commandery in each Priory once in every five years, and the Grand Prior had the same right in his own Priory. Such appointments, since they were made regardless of the customary rules, were said to be obtained "of Grace," whilst those made by seniority according to custom were said to be obtained "of Cabishment."* There was also in every Priory what was called the Magisterial Commandery, the property of the Grand Master, to which he could appoint a Commander or not as he thought fit. In England, the Commandery of Peckham in Kent was the Magisterial Commandery. Occasionally the Pope as first Superior of the Order made use of his prerogative to appoint to vacant Commanderies, but such action was always deeply resented and was the cause of serious friction.

To be eligible for appointment to a Commandery, a brother whether knight, chaplain or serving brother-at-arms must have resided five years in the Convent, during which period he must have performed three complete "Caravans," as service on board the galleys was called, each caravan consisting of a full year of such service. A Commander after five years' service as such, provided that he was certified to have effected improvements on the property in his charge, was eligible for translation to a richer Commandery, which on appointment he was said to have obtained "of Meliorment."† After fifteen years' service in the Order, of which ten full years must have been spent

* Cabishment, a corruption of the old French "chevissement," the undertaking an enterprise one hopes to go through with. Statutes XIX., 22.

† Meliorment, having effected improvements in the Commanderies previously held. See Mifsud, p. 153.

in the Convent, a knight—but only a knight—was eligible for one of those dignities, which carried with them the Grand Cross.

The term Grand Cross and Bailiff are synonymous, and the nature of the dignity is clearly defined in the Statutes* as follows: “under the name of Bailiff are comprehended the Conventual Bailiffs, the Capitular Bailiffs, the Priors and the Castellan of Amposta.” The Conventual Bailiffs are of course the Pillars of the Tongues in permanent residence at the Convent. They were normally appointed by seniority, and had the privilege of claiming the first vacant Priory or Bailiwick in the Tongue that they might desire. There were four Grand Crosses, and for a short time apparently five, appertaining to the Tongue of England, namely:—

The Turcopolier, or Pillar of England.

Grand Prior of England.

Grand Prior of Ireland.

Bailiff of Egle.

†Bailiff of Armenia “in partibus.”

But besides these Grand Crosses of Justice as they were called, since they wore the Grand Cross by virtue of the dignities they held, there were also Honorary Bailiffs appointed “per favorem et ad honores,” and generally referred to as Grand Crosses of Grace. They took precedence immediately after the Grand Crosses of Justice and were members of the Council and Chapter-General, but as regards appointments to Commanderies and to the dignities of the Order, they had no seniority over the other knights, but ranked with them according to the dates of their receptions. In the modern English Order authority is provided under the terms of the Charter for the appointment of Honorary Bailiffs, which had been limited to eight in number under the Statutes of 1875.

* Statutes XIX, 6.

† NOTE.—When the Bailiwicks “in partibus” were definitely attached to certain Tongues, that of Armenia was attached to the Tongue of England. See St. Allais “L’Ordre de Malthe,” p. 162.

The Grand Prior of England was responsible to the Order for the proper administration of the Commanderies within his Province and under the Statutes* he was bound to make a personal visitation of every Commandery once in five years. He had however no responsibility for the collection of responsions or other dues, which were paid to a Receiver-General directly responsible to the Treasury of the Order. The collection of Responsions was taken out of the hands of the Grand Priors by the Chapter-General of 1364, owing to the scandalous misuse of his powers by the famous John d'Hérédia, afterwards Grand Master. The Grand Prior had a jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, and might correct the brethren of all classes within the forms prescribed by the Statutes. But he had no power to deprive a brother of his habit, to condemn him to perpetual imprisonment, or deprive him of his Commandery or his seniority. Serious offences deserving such punishment could only be reported to the Grand Master and Council, who alone had power to deal with them. Once a year, or more frequently if necessary, the Grand Prior summoned a meeting of the Provincial-Chapter, which all Bailiffs and Commanders in the Province at the time were compelled to attend under heavy penalties. These Provincial Chapters were generally held at the Commandery of Melchbourne in Bedfordshire, which formed part of the Grand Prior's appanage. Whenever absent from his province the Grand Prior had the right to nominate a Lieutenant-Prior, who exercised the same powers. The Grand Prior had a seat in the House of Lords, taking precedence of the lay Barons.

The number of Commanderies in England was never an absolutely fixed quantity. From time to time changes were necessarily made according to administrative requirements, and smaller Commanderies would sometimes be added to greater Commanderies, or detached and combined with others to form new Commanderies. In the same way the distribution between the different classes was also continually liable to change. Thus,

* Statutes. Title XV.



ON ACTIVE SERVICE.

A KNIGHT OF RHODES.

Fr. Alberto Arringhieri, from paintings by Pinturicchio in Siena Cathedral.



IN THE CONVENT.

in the first half of the 14th century we learn from the report* of Brother Philip Thame, then Grand Prior, that the number of Commanderies was 36, which were distributed between the three classes as follows :—

Knights	....	....	13	Commanderies
Chaplains	....	....	7	"
Serving Brothers	....	....	16	"

But after the Chapter-General of 1364, which forbade the advancement of Serving Brothers to the degree of Knighthood, their importance and numbers grew less and less, and two centuries later we find the proportion of Religious in the Order belonging to this class to be less than 14 per cent.† In England, where the qualifications for admission as a Knight were probably never so exclusive as on the Continent, the class became almost extinct. Certain Commanderies were reserved for the use of Chaplains and Serving Brothers, who took precedence on the same roster according to seniority. Besides the Commanderies there was also a Priory for the Sisters of the Order at Buckland, in Somerset, where 50 Sisters resided under a Prioress, living according to the rule of the Austin Canonesses.

In Goussancourt's Martyrology there is given a list of the English Commanderies, excluding with one exception those belonging to the Grand Prior's original appanage and the Magisterial Commandery. As this list presumably refers to the state of affairs just before the dissolution, the Commanderies at the beginning of the 16th century would be as follows :—

COMMANDERIES FORMING THE GRAND PRIOR'S ORIGINAL APPANAGE.

Clerkenwell in Middlesex.	Sanford in Oxfordshire.
Temple Balsall in Warwick.	Temple Cressing in Essex.

THE FIFTH COMMANDERY ALLOWED UNDER THE STATUTES.

Melchbourne in Bedfordshire.

* See Larking and Kemble's *Knights Hospitallers* (Camden Society).

† At the siege of Malta there were 474 knights and 67 serving brothers.

COMMANDERIES ADDED TO THE GRAND PRIOR'S APPANAGE AT A
LATER DATE.

Buckland in Somerset.	Hogshaw in Bucks.
Greenham in Berkshire.	Poling in Sussex.
Maltby cum Skirbeck in Lincoln.	

THE MAGISTERIAL COMMANDERY.

Peckham in Kent.

INDEPENDENT COMMANDERIES.

Anstey in Wiltshire.	Newland in Yorkshire.
Baddesford in Suffolk.	Ossington in Notts.
Baddesley in Hampshire.	Quenington in Gloucester.
Beverley in the East Riding.	Ribstone in Yorkshire.
Carbroke in Norfolk.	Rotheley in Leicester.
Clanefield in Oxfordshire.	Shingay in Cambridge.
Dalby in Leicester	Slebeche in Pembroke.
Dingley in Northampton.	Swingfield in Kent.
Dinmore in Hereford.	Templebruer in Lincoln.
Egle in Lincoln.	Templecombe in Somerset.
Halston in Shropshire.	Trebigh in Cornwall.
Mayne in Dorset.	Willoughton in Lincoln.
Mount St. John in North Riding.	Winkbourne in Notts.
	Yevely in Derby.

PRIORY FOR THE SISTERS OF THE ORDER.

Buckland in Somerset.

NOTE.—In Brother Philip Thame's report the Commandery of Baddesley is known as " Godesfield with Baddesley and Runham " ; Winkbourne is described as a Member only ; and Egle, Ribstone, Rotheley, Sandford, and Willoughton with Temples Balsall, Bruer, Combe, and Cressing as being Temple Lands. The following, given as independent Commanderies, appear to have become absorbed in others by the 16th century, *viz.* :—Bothemescombe, Chibburn, Chippenham, Grafton, Hardwick, Maplestead, Skirbeck, Staundon, and Sutton-at-Hone.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TWO SIEGES OF RHODES.

THE deeds of the Knights of St. John at Rhodes form one of the noblest chapters in the glorious history of the Order. Holding the most exposed outpost of Christendom against the ever-advancing power of the Infidel, they carried on a ceaseless warfare against overwhelming odds for two centuries. From their island stronghold their galleys patrolled incessantly the eastern waters of the Mediterranean, and peaceful merchant and pious pilgrim alike had reason to bless the banner of St. John. But the knights had a double duty to perform ; they were enlisted " in the service of the poor " as well as " in the defence of the Catholic Faith," and despite their ceaseless naval and military activities, the great Hospital from which the name and origin of the Order are derived remained famous throughout the East. But of all the great deeds of the Order none are more famous than the two great sieges of Rhodes. In the first, in 1480, the illustrious Peter d'Aubusson, the greatest hero the Order had produced since Raymond du Puy, successfully defied the vast resources of the mighty Turkish Empire, the chief military power of its age. In the second siege, in 1522, the heroic L'Isle Adam, after six months' resistance, abandoned to his fate by Pope and Emperor alike, finally capitulated only to save the civil population from inevitable massacre.

After the capture of Constantinople in 1453, Mahomet the Great, filled with the pride of victory, summoned John de Lastic, then Grand Master, to pay him tribute. Infuriated by the haughty defiance of the knights, he swore that he would utterly destroy them. But his ceaseless campaigns in Europe and Asia left him no time or opportunity to concentrate his forces against the island fortress until the last year of his reign.

On May 23rd, 1480, a Turkish army of 70,000 men landed in the Bay of Trianda, and supported by a fleet of 160 sail, excluding small craft, began the siege of Rhodes. To meet the almost unlimited resources of the enemy D'Aubusson had but a slender garrison, 450 Religious, perhaps 4,000 troops in the pay of the Order, together with the privateersmen accustomed to use Rhodes as their base, and a few companies of armed citizens.

The Turkish general, Misach Palaeologos Pasha, was a renegade Greek prince of the Imperial family, who to save his life at the taking of Constantinople had accepted Islam, and had since risen by his abilities to be Grand Vizier. He selected as his first objective the outlying fortress of St. Nicholas, the capture of which would enable him to prevent vessels running the blockade from entering the great harbour, and so complete the investment. After fourteen days' bombardment the first assault was delivered on June 9th, but was beaten off by the defenders led by the Grand Master in person, the Turks leaving 700 dead on the mole. Ten days later, on June 19th, the assault was renewed in greater force and after more elaborate preparation. But after ten hours' savage fighting the assaulting columns were finally repulsed, leaving behind them 2,500 dead, including their commander, Ibrahim Bey, a very distinguished officer and a member of the Grand Seignior's family. It is in connection with this second assault that the name of an Englishman has been handed down in history. The night before the attack, under cover of darkness, the Turks had fixed a large anchor under the water in the rocks at the head of the mole, and to it a cable was attached to enable them to haul a floating bridge into position across the channel of water between them and the fortress. One of the garrison, a sharp-eyed English sailor, Roger Jervis* by name, saw what had happened. Plunging into the

* NOTE.—Vertot calls the man Gervase Rogers, and Porter calls him Roger Gervase. May we not assume that these are but foreign corruptions of the good English name of Roger Jervis? The gift of 200 ducats seems extraordinarily lavish; if the purchasing power of money at that period is reckoned at 12 to 15 times that of the present day, the gift represents between £1,200 and £1,500.

sea he detached the anchor and carried it to the Grand Master, who was so pleased to see the Turkish plan thus frustrated that he gave him the handsome reward of 200 ducats.

Abandoning the attack on Fort St. Nicholas, Palacologos Pasha decided to concentrate his efforts against the weakest section of the defences known as the Jews' Wall and covering the south-east quarter of the town. The wall crumbled away before the fire of the heavy Turkish artillery, only to reveal behind it fresh and more elaborate defences. A further long bombardment followed, and the roar of the Turkish guns could be heard at Lango and Chateau Roux, 100 miles away. At last, on July 27th, the great assault was launched. In the first rush the attacking columns carried all before them, but in a great counter-attack led by the Grand Master*, who fell dangerously wounded in five places, the Turks were finally hurled from the breach. The fugitives as they fell back threw into disorder the supporting troops hastening to their assistance, and panic suddenly seized the Turkish army, which broke up and scattered over the country side. Pushing their advantage to the full, the knights drove the enemy right through their camp, capturing the Pasha's standard, and they counted 3,500 dead left on the field. It was some days before the Turkish general had reorganized his demoralized army, but there was no more fighting spirit left in his troops, and when two Spanish ships succeeded in running the blockade he decided to raise the siege. The stores were burnt, the troops embarked on board the transports, and on August 18th Rhodes saw the last of the janissaries depart, after a siege of 89 days. The losses of the Turks are estimated at 9,000 killed and 30,000 wounded. Those of the

* "Certain Turkish fugitives who surrendered stated that when the Grand Master mounted the breach and displayed the standards of the Religion, they suddenly saw a golden cross shining in the heavens and the Virgin clothed in white, bearing a spear in her right hand and a shield in her left, and beside her a man clothed in camel's hair, and following them a band of soldiers richly armed, hastening to the help of the town, and that this vision was the cause of the panic that seized their army." Boyssat, Vol. I, p. 172. (Edition Baudoin).

Order are not accurately known, but must have been appallingly heavy : there were said to be 450 Religious in the Convent, and out of those holding official positions only, 231 were amongst the killed.

Unfortunately, history gives us no details of the gallant deeds of the English contingent in this great siege. No doubt in such a crisis the Tongue stood at its full establishment of 28 brethren, but only the names of 14 are now on record, and those mostly in a corrupt and foreign form not always easy to recognise.

Amongst the killed were :—

- Fr. Thomas Bem (?), Bailiff of Egle.
- Fr. John Wakelyn, Commander of Carbroke.
- Fr. Henry Hales, Commander of Baddesford.
- Fr. Thomas Plumpton.
- Fr. Adam Tedbond.
- Fr. Henry Battesby.
- Fr. Henry Anlaby (Anulai).

Amongst those who survived the siege were :—

- Fr. John Kendal, the Turcopolier and Pillar of England.
- Fr. Marmaduke Lumley (he was desperately wounded, but survived).
- Fr. John Boswell.
- Fr. Thomas Docwra.
- Fr. Leonard de Tybertis.
- Fr. Walter Westbrough (Viselberg).
- Fr. John Roche.

For more than 40 years after their repulse, the Turks refrained from further attack upon Rhodes. But when the Grand Master Fabricio del Caretto died in 1521, it was evident that the young and capable Sultan, who had just ascended the Ottoman throne, was likely to turn his arms against the Order at a very early date. The election of a new Grand Master, capable of meeting the approaching crisis, was therefore of more than usual importance. For a moment it seemed as if Brother Thomas Docwra, Grand Prior of England, would be elected to fill the vacancy. Perhaps the most distinguished of all the English Grand Priors

since Garnier de Nablous, his energy capacity and soundness of judgment were well known throughout the Order, whilst his wide diplomatic experience had brought him into intimate contact with most of the leading statesmen of the day. He was a man of European reputation, by far the most prominent figure in the Order, and his election at such a moment would have been an ideal appointment. But the French influence was of too overwhelming a nature, and Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam, Grand Prior of France, was duly elected. His bitter opponent, Andrew d'Amaral, Grand Chancellor and Pillar of Castile, when he heard the news, exclaimed,* "he will be the last Grand Master of Rhodes," words which afterwards helped to cost him his head.

The Grand Seignior, fresh from the capture of Belgrade, was determined not to risk the repulse that his grandfather had suffered, and forces twice as numerous were detailed for the siege of Rhodes. His young and ambitious brother-in-law, Mustapha Pasha, was placed in command, with Pyrrhus Pasha, a capable old soldier, as his chief of the staff, and 140,000 troops were concentrated, with 60,000 pioneers drawn from the peasantry of Bosnia and Wallachia. For the blockade of the island and the transport of troops and stores, 400 vessels, including 100 galleys, were assembled under the Capitan Pasha Curtoglu, the most famous corsair of his day. To meet these vast preparations the Grand Master had at his disposal 600 Religious, 4,500 troops in the pay of the Order, a few companies of armed citizens, the privateersmen of the port, and pioneer companies drawn from the country peasantry. The lower classes of the town, typical Levantines, were useless either for fighting or working: in the words† of the Abbé Vertot "they were insensible to any passion but that of fear, and could never be brought to look danger in the face."

The strength of the English contingent is not known to us, but it cannot have been less than 28 Religious, of whom the names

* Vertot, Book VIII, p. 423.

† Book VIII, p. 433.

of 19 are on record, besides a detachment of English soldiers raised and commanded by them. Amongst the senior Knights were :—

- Fr. John Buck, Turcopolier and Pillar of England, commanding the Local Reserve for the sectors of Aragon and England.
- Fr. Nicholas Hussey, commanding the Bastion of England.
- Fr. William Weston, commanding the Post of England, that is the curtain wall linking the Bastion with that of Provence. He was at this time Commander of Baddesley and Mayne.
- Fr. Thomas Sheffield, Commander of Beverley, and the Grand Master's Seneschal.
- Fr. Henry Mansel, the Grand Master's Standard Bearer.
- Fr. Nicholas Fairfax, on the Grand Master's Staff.
- Fr. John Rawson, Junr., Commander of Quenyngton.
- Fr. Giles Russell, Commander of Baddesford and Dingley.

There were also present John Baron and Frances Buet (Blewett ?), who were serving with the garrison of Fort St. Nicholas, William West, Thomas Pemberton, George Askew, John Sutton, George Aylmer, Michael Roche, Nicholas Usel (?), Otho de Monsill, and Nicholas Roberts. Most of these were killed or wounded in the siege, but the last-named lived to write an account of it to the Earl of Surrey, which is still extant.*

On June 26th, 1522, which marks the beginning of the great siege, the Turks began to disembark, but it was 13 days before the landing of the troops, guns, and stores was completed. The siege opened badly for the infidels, the morale of their troops proved to be very poor, they lacked confidence in their young General, they resented the absence of the Grand Seignior, and were demoralised by the active defence of the Order. So dangerous did the situation appear that the chief of the Staff, Pyrrhus Pasha, considered it necessary to write personally to the Sultan that his immediate presence was essential, unless operations

* Printed in Porter, Vol. I, Appendix 15.

were to be a complete failure. Accordingly on July 28th Suleiman the Magnificent arrived with 15,000 fresh troops, and from that moment the siege was pressed with the utmost vigour. Of all the famous sieges of history, that of Rhodes must ever stand amongst the most famous, and of all the heroic deeds in that long-drawn-out fight against hopeless odds, none were more heroic than the gallant defence of the Bastion of England by that little knot of English knights and soldiers, until none were left to hold it longer. The defence of the Bastion of England must always remain one of the finest feats of arms in English military history.

All through the month of August the Turkish artillery carried out a systematic bombardment of the fortifications from the Bastion of Aragon eastward to the sea, whilst their pioneers were engaged in an elaborate scheme of mining. It was evident from the first that the Bastion of England, at the south-west angle of the defences, would be the main objective, for the Commander-in-Chief, Mustapha Pasha, had himself taken charge of the sector of the Turkish lines facing this point. The long bombardment was followed in September by a series of savage assaults, in which the attempt was made to carry the breaches by sheer weight of overwhelming numbers, in spite of the hideous loss of life that it entailed. On September 4th two mines were successfully sprung under the Bastion of England, bringing down twelve yards of the ramparts, which slid into the ditch. The noise of the explosion was the signal for the assault, and in the first rush the Turks carried the breach, planting seven standards along the crest of it before the defenders had recovered from their surprise. But Brother Nicholas Hussey, rallying his men on an inner barricade, was able for the moment to hold up the attack. Meanwhile the Grand Master, who was at Mass in a Church close by, hearing the noise and guessing what it meant, came up with his household and guards. He led the counter-attack in person, flung the Turks out of the Bastion and threw down their standards. It was now that Brother Henry Mansel fell. Conspicuous by the fact that he bore the Grand Master's Standard, he was shot down by a Turkish

arquebusier ; carried back to hospital, he died there a month later. Furious at the repulse of his men, Mustapha Pasha dashed into the crowd of fugitives as they broke back from the breach and cut down several with his scimitar. Fresh troops were brought up and a fresh attack organised, but Nicholas Hussey and his men were waiting in readiness on the breach, and now, unaided by surprise, the Turks were finally driven back, and as they fled were mown down in masses by the artillery of the town. They left 3,000 dead upon the ground, including three Sandjak Beys.

After failing in an attack on the Bastion of Italy, Mustapha Pasha decided to deliver a further assault on the Bastion of England, whilst Achmet Pasha on his left, supported by the Aga of the Janissaries, should make a subsidiary attack on the Bastion of Aragon. The Pasha openly stated that he cared not how many men he sacrificed, provided that he gained the Bastion, and was prepared himself to die on the breach. On September 17th the assaulting columns were launched to the attack and, regardless of their losses, forced their way forward as far as the inner barricades, and even planted some of their standards there. Brother John Buck, the Turcopolier, at once brought up the Local Reserve for the sectors of Aragon and England. The French historian describes* it as "a swarm of English Knights, led on by a commander of that nation whose name was John Buck." But the situation appeared so serious that a detachment was withdrawn from the sector of Germany, under Christopher von Waldner, and moved up in support. Apparently John Buck and his Englishmen moved out from behind the barricades and flung themselves upon the flank of the assaulting columns. So fierce was the charge that the Turks were compelled to give ground, but fell back slowly and in good order, fighting hard. Mustapha Pasha, placing himself at the head of his supports, led them into action and, throwing himself into the midst of the Knights, killed some of them with his own hands. To quote the Abbé Vertot's vivid de-

* Vertot, Book VIII, p. 448.

scription*: "Had he been as well followed by his soldiers, Rhodes would have been in great danger. But the artillery of the place, the little pieces especially that played upon the breach, and a great number of musketeers that galled them from behind the entrenchments, made so terrible a fire that the Infidels, no longer regarding the menaces of Mustapha, abandoned the breach and dragged him along with them in their flight. Howsoever glorious this success might be to the Order, nevertheless the Knights paid very dear for it. They lost on this occasion the Commanders Buck and Waldner, several English and German Knights, and the greatest part of their principal Officers." The Turks left 3,000 dead before the Bastions of England and Aragon.

The Grand Seignior now began to be restive, and his confidence to be shaken in the military abilities of his brother-in-law, Mustapha, who seemed† "a much braver soldier than an able general." For three long months the immense Turkish army, taught to regard itself as invincible, had been successfully defied by a mere handful of Knights and soldiers, and all in vain the blood of the bravest Janissaries had been poured out in torrents on the breaches of Rhodes. Mustapha Pasha, anxious to retrieve his shaken reputation, decided upon a general assault on September 24th, to be delivered simultaneously upon the four Bastions of Aragon, England, Provence and Italy. To increase the ardour of the troops, a great throne was raised for the Sultan on a piece of rising ground, like the throne of Xerxes at Salamis, from which he might observe the gallant deeds of his soldiers. At daybreak the Turkish guns opened an intensive bombardment, especially against the points selected for attack, and under cover of the smoke the Janissaries dashed forward to the assault, determined to gain the plunder of Rhodes or to find consolation in the arms of the houris of Paradise. Never had the Turks fought with greater determination, and again the hardest fighting took place at the

*Vertot, Book VIII, p. 448.

† Vertot, Book VIII., p. 148.

Bastion of England. In the words of the French historian* : " It was the place where there was the greatest bloodshed, it was the weakest part of the place, the warmest attacked, and withal the best defended." Not many English Knights and soldiers can have survived John Buck's savage counter-attack on the 17th, and this day must have marked the end of what was left of the English contingent, for in the latter half of the siege no Englishman was available to command the ruins of what had once been the Bastion of England, and a certain French Knight, one John Bin de Malicorne, had to be entrusted with their command.

One incident recorded of this great fight is of so dramatic and tragic a nature that it must not be left untold. An Officer of the Bastion of England, and therefore presumably an English Knight,† being killed, was carried out of the action to the house of the woman he loved. She is said to have been a young Greek lady of exquisite beauty, who had borne to him two children. As she saw her dead lover carried into the house the madness of despair came upon this poor lady. Thinking that the Turks were already in the town, and exclaiming that it was better that her children should die by their mother's hand rather than fall into the power of such fiends, she slew them both. Then putting on the blood-stained armour of her lover, and taking his sword in her hand, she went to seek her death on that ghastly breach. Passing through the arquebusiers and crossbowmen, she joined the line of grim fighting men who stood in front, extended across the breach at wide intervals to allow for the swing of their great two-handed swords. As the Janissaries again pressed forward into the fight, she slew the first of them and wounded several others, until at last the merciful blow of a Turkish scimitar sent her to rejoin her lover and her children, and brought peace again to her tortured soul.

* Vertot, Book VIII, p. 451.

† The discreet historian rightly refrains from recording his name, since the joys of earthly love were forbidden to a Knight of St. John.

Everywhere the general assault was a failure in spite of the reckless disregard of their men's lives shown by the Turkish officers. For a moment it looked as if the Aga of the Janissaries would succeed in effecting a lodgment in the post of Aragon. But the Grand Master brought up 200 fresh troops from the garrison of St. Nicholas and drove him back. It was here perhaps that two English Knights fell, Brother John Baron and Brother Francis Buet; both had been stationed in St. Nicholas. After six hours' fighting, the Turks began to give way at all points, and it was evident that the day was lost. To save the honour of the army and prevent a shameful flight, the Sultan ordered the retreat to be sounded. But 15,000 men lay dead in front of those awful breaches. Furious at the incompetence of his general and brother-in-law, the Grand Seignior at once deprived him of the command and sentenced him to be shot to death with arrows. But at the last moment he was reprieved and sent to Egypt as Viceroy. The command of the army was given to Achmet Pasha the chief engineer, and a scientific soldier of considerable attainments.

The new General placed his confidence in a policy of attrition, and it gradually became more and more evident that the fortress was doomed. In vain the Knights watched for the relief that never came. Abandoned by the Great Powers, their only hope lay in the efforts of their brethren beyond the seas. Messina was the base selected for the relief force, and there the Knights assembled from every Priory in Europe, there troops were collected and stores accumulated. But it seemed that winter as if all the powers of evil were in league against the Order, and contrary winds or terrific gales hampered all their efforts. Every contingent that left for Messina seemed to meet with misfortune, though none was more unfortunate than that which sailed from England. Under the command of Brother Thomas Newport, Bailiff of Egle, the English Knights embarked at Dover, taking with them a strong body of seasoned troops. But in the Bay of Biscay they met with heavy gales, and their vessel was driven back on their own shores and there foundered with all hands.

Towards the end of November the Grand Master selected an English Knight of his household, Brother Thomas Fairfax, for a special mission to Crete to try to raise fresh troops to replace some of the heavy casualties. Thomas Fairfax managed to slip through the blockading squadrons and reached Crete in safety. But he found the Venetians so nervous on the question of their neutrality that he only succeeded in raising 100 men. With these he succeeded in again running the blockade and reached Rhodes on December 16th. By now the fate of the fortress was sealed and, after the six months' siege, it was clearly no longer tenable. On December 20th, when it was obvious that a general assault could scarcely fail, the Grand Master capitulated to save the civil population from inevitable massacre. The terms granted were as honourable to the Order as they were to the chivalrous young Sultan, but it was much against his will that the Grand Master was prevailed upon to surrender, and he would have preferred to die on the breach surrounded by his Knights. By his gallant defence against overwhelming odds he had gained imperishable renown for his Order, and the name of L'Isle Adam will ever rank with the greatest of his predecessors, Raymond du Puy and Peter d'Aubusson. The Emperor Charles V, who to his everlasting shame had abandoned Rhodes to its fate, pronounced the verdict of history when he exclaimed* on hearing the news: "There has been nothing so well lost in the world as Rhodes."

* Porter, Vol. I, p. 479.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DOWNFALL OF THE ORDER IN ENGLAND.

THE loss of Rhodes was the second great crisis in the history of the Order of St. John. Just as the loss of Acre more than two centuries before had placed the existence of the Order in serious danger and had actually resulted in the suppression of the other great military Order, the Templars, so the loss of Rhodes rendered it possible for unsympathetic Governments once more to allege that the Order was failing to justify its existence. The gravity of the danger first revealed itself in the same two countries as in the previous crisis, namely in England and Portugal. In the latter country, King John III declared his intention of seizing the revenues of the Order and employing them in a holy war against the Moors, since the Knights of Rhodes appeared content to remain inactive in their temporary home at Viterbo. Scarcely had the Grand Master averted this danger by his tact and diplomatic skill, than a similar danger manifested itself in England.

In that country the Order had been greatly assisted in the critical years following the loss of Rhodes by the high esteem in which its Grand Prior was held by Henry VIII. Brother Thomas Docwra was famous both as a soldier and as a diplomatist, though to the modern Order he is best remembered by his buildings. For it was he who built the great tower of the Priory Church, now unhappily destroyed, and inserted the perpendicular windows in the choir, and, above all, built the great gate-house, which was finished in 1504, and still remains the home of the Order. As a young man he had fought under the illustrious d'Aubusson at the siege of Rhodes in 1480 · he

had subsequently greatly distinguished himself as General of the Galleys, he had been Grand Prior of Ireland, Turcopolier for six years, and had finally succeeded John Kendall at his death in 1501 as Grand Prior of England. In 1521 he even contested the Grand Mastership of the Order with the famous L'Isle Adam. The new Grand Prior stood high in the confidence of Henry VII, and it was no doubt at his suggestion in 1506 that the complimentary title of "Protector of the Order" was conferred upon the King. Henry VII was a frequent visitor at the Priory of Clerkenwell, and it was there in the first year of his reign, during the rule of Brother John Weston, that he gave the Great Seal to John Morton, Bishop of Ely, and appointed him Chancellor, "in a small upper room, next the garden in the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England." The Grand Prior stood equally high in the favour of the new King Henry VIII, upon whom the complimentary title of "Protector of the Order" was conferred in 1511, as it had been upon his father before him. By Henry VIII he was employed upon several diplomatic missions of importance, and in 1520, at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, he was appointed "to ride with the King of England at the embracing of the two Kings." He died in 1527 and was buried in the Grand Prior Docwra's Chapel in the Priory Church at Clerkenwell.

The death of the Grand Prior removed an obstacle to designs that the King must have long been meditating. He had always been in financial difficulties and the fortress of Calais had never ceased to be a heavy drain upon his resources. As he pondered over the problem, the idea occurred to him that since the Knights of Rhodes were no longer performing any definite functions to make them responsible for that fortress would be a very convenient solution. Apparently it was the King's intention to constitute the Tongue of England a separate military order, with the defence of Calais as its object, the expenses of which would then be met from the revenues of the Order. No sooner was the Grand Prior dead than preliminary steps were taken to give effect to the royal plans, and when Brother William Weston, the Grand Prior elect, arrived in England he was



From Selden's "Titles of Honour."

FR. THOMAS DOCWRA.
GRAND PRIOR OF ENGLAND, 1501-1527.

prevented from entering into possession of his Priory, which was being reserved for a court favourite. No sooner did the Grand Master hear the news than he sent a special mission to the King, explaining that the Order would shortly be permanently established at Malta, where it would be in a position to fulfil the objects for which it existed, the maintenance of its Hospital and the defence of the Catholic Faith. He also requested the King of France to use his influence and to mediate on behalf of the Order. But the envoys returned to Nice,* where the Convent was now established, with the disquieting news that the intentions of Henry VIII appeared to be firmly fixed, and that they could do nothing to change them. Moreover, they added that the King of England was extremely annoyed that he should not have been consulted as regards the future of the Order, which the Grand Master had discussed personally with his rivals the Emperor and the King of France.

On receiving the report of his envoys the Grand Master at once decided to make the journey to London and to pay the King a personal visit, in spite of his great age and the unusual severity of the winter. Embarking at Nice for Antibes on January 2nd, 1528, he sent in advance his confidential agent, Brother Anthony Bosio, to announce his approaching visit. The envoy received a most cordial welcome from the King and his great minister Cardinal Wolsey, both of whom wrote personal letters to the Grand Master couched in the warmest terms, and Bosio was able to inform him that the King was so touched by the long and painful journey he was making at such a season that he had completely changed his intentions and was prepared to do his utmost to satisfy him. Accordingly after completing certain business in France the Grand Master

* The Convent settled first at Messina, from which it was driven by the plague in July, 1523; after a short stay at Cumae, it arrived at Civita Vecchia, 1st August, 1523, and was granted Viterbo as its residence by the Pope in January, 1524. It was driven from Viterbo by the plague in July, 1527, and after a short stay at Corneto went to Villefranche, and took temporary possession of Nice, 14th November, 1527, finally evacuating that town 12th July, 1529.

continued his journey to London, and took up his residence in the Priory at Clerkenwell, where the four Grand Crosses of the Tongue and a numerous assembly of Knights from England, Scotland and Ireland were gathered together to meet him. A few days later he made his state entry into the City escorted by the great lords of the realm, the utmost honour and respect were paid to him, and he was lodged by the King in his own palace. His reception by Henry VIII was of the most gracious description, and he insisted upon hearing from the lips of the venerable hero the full details of the siege and fall of Rhodes. The proposal that the Order should establish itself at Malta if the recapture of Rhodes should prove impossible met with the King's warm approval, and he promised a gift of 20,000 ducats towards the expenses of an expedition for its recovery. Nothing further was heard of the plans regarding Calais, and the King confirmed all the privileges of the Order, asking only one favour of the Grand Master that he would cancel the appointment of Brother John Rawson to be Turcopolier and re-appoint him to be Grand Prior of Ireland, since his previous "gentle administration had been very instrumental in polishing and civilizing its inhabitants, who were at that time not many degrees above savages*." Brother William Weston, formerly Turcopolier, was now permitted to enter into possession of the Grand Priory of England, but he was compelled to pay a benevolence of £4,000 to the Crown, which was advanced by the Receiver-General, and on May 15th he signed a deed at Clerkenwell in the presence of the Grand Master undertaking to repay this amount out of the revenues of his Priory. The Grand Master left England at the beginning of June, and on taking his final leave of the King was the recipient of many valuable presents, including a golden basin and cup† set with precious stones, which attracted so much attention that it has been recorded by almost every historian.

* Vertot. Book IX, p. 29.

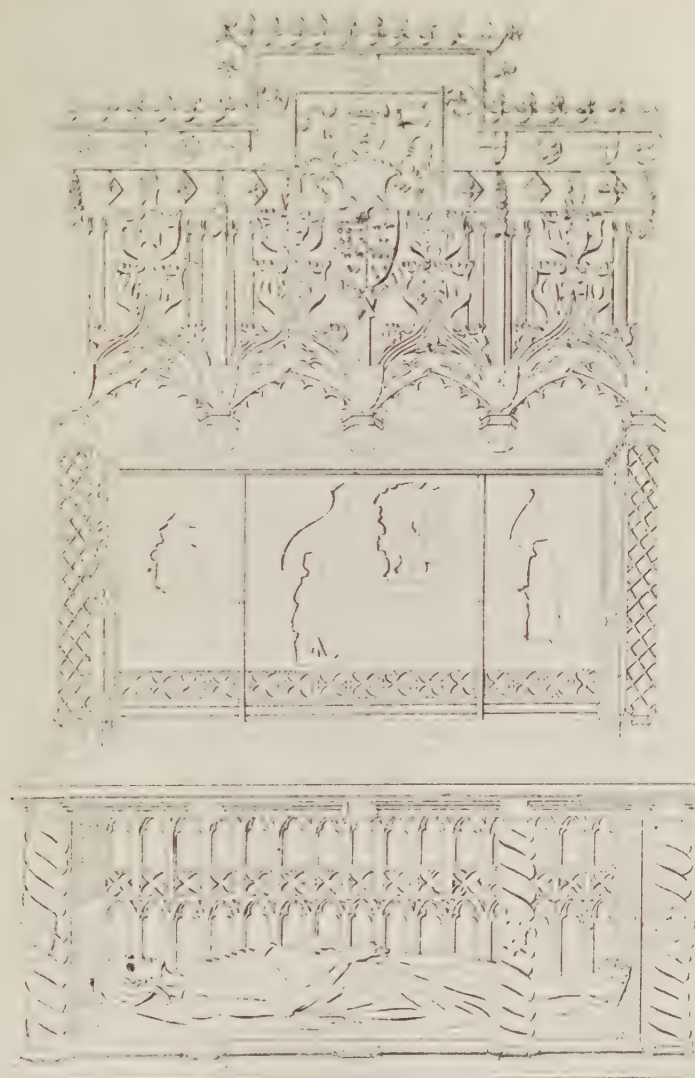
† This cup was given by Grand Master Verdala in September, 1584, to John Andrew Doria, Prince of Melfi. See Mifsud, p. 192

The rule of the new Grand Prior from the very day that he came into office can scarcely ever have been free from anxiety as to the future of the Order that he loved. No sooner had one danger passed away than another far more formidable arose out of the matrimonial troubles of the King. The Queen was no longer young nor beautiful, and worst of all, she had borne her lord no son. Moreover a lady of the court both young and beautiful had attracted the favourable attention of the monarch, so his conscience troubled him and he felt that it would be sinful to continue to live in matrimony with a deceased brother's widow. Unable to endure longer the pangs of a tortured conscience, Henry VIII confided his troubles to the Pope in 1528, with a request that he might be freed from so sinful a union. But the Queen was aunt to the Emperor, and the Pope, too much in the power of that potentate to be a free agent, found himself unable to give sympathetic consideration to the wishes of the conscience-stricken King. The resulting quarrel gradually assumed the most serious proportions, and culminated in 1534, when the Pope excommunicated the King, and the King in his turn denied the Pope's supremacy over the Church and claimed for himself the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England. The final stage of the quarrel was reached in 1536, when the Pope published a bull deposing the King and charging the Emperor with its execution. Now the staunchest supporters of the Papal supremacy were naturally to be found in the religious orders, and it was obvious that an attack upon them would have the double advantage of striking a severe blow at the King's enemy the Pope and of adding to the resources of a treasury always insufficiently supplied. Accordingly a visitation of the monasteries was ordered in 1535, and so shocked was the tender conscience of the King by the disclosures of his agents that the smaller establishments were dissolved the following year. The process was gradually extended to the greater monasteries, and Glastonbury, the English Jerusalem, the last and greatest of them all, fell in the autumn of 1539.

Thus far the Knights of Malta, as they were now beginning to be called, had remained untouched, with the exception of the

Priory of Buckland in Somerset, where the fifty Sisters attached to the Order resided. Here owing to the pressure brought to bear upon her, the Prioress Katherine Bouchier had surrendered her priory to the royal commissioners in February, 1539. But the Knights stood in an entirely different category, they were not regarded by the authorities as a mere encumbrance like the Monks and Nuns, and the objects for which they existed appealed to all the chivalrous instincts of the age. Henry VIII appears to have been loath to attack the Order, of which he had been proud to accept the title of Protector nearly thirty years before, but he was faced with an insurmountable difficulty, that the Knights were the loyal servants of the Pope, whose claims to universal spiritual dominion he had defied, and with whom he was now at such bitter enmity. In England, to refuse to denounce the Pope's supremacy, if called upon to do so, was now high treason, and gallant men like Sir Thomas More and Cardinal Fisher had died upon the scaffold rather than deny their faith. It was a sheer impossibility for the King to permit the existence in England of an Order so powerful and so highly organized, unless it was prepared to renounce its loyalty to his most determined enemy. The Knights would become inevitably a centre of disaffection, and a rallying point for all the forces of reaction. But it was equally impossible for them to renounce their allegiance to the Pope, the first superior of their Order, on whose authority their whole constitution was based. In July, 1539, after two of the Knights had already chosen the martyr's crown, the King wrote letters to the Grand Master, which practically constituted an ultimatum, demanding that in England the papal supremacy should cease to be recognized by the Order. The Chapter-General met in the following year, and John de Homèdes, the Grand Master, sent a special mission to London, but it was impossible to accept the King's conditions, and the envoys could effect nothing.

Meanwhile, it had long been realized in England that no favourable reply to the royal suggestions could be expected, and in April, 1540, before any reply could be received, an Act of Parliament was passed dissolving the Order, and conferring



Formerly in St. James' Church, Clerkenwell; from an old print.

MONUMENT OF FR. WILLIAM WESTON.

GRAND PRIOR OF ENGLAND, 1527-1540.

its estates upon the Crown, whilst the Knights were forbidden to continue to wear the habit or to use the badges and titles of the Order. The Act clearly states that the reason for suppressing the Order was because* the Knights "unnaturally and contrary to the duty of their allegiance sustained and maintained the usurped power and authority of the Bishop of Rome, and have not only adhered themselves to the said Bishop, being common enemy to the King our sovereign lord, and to his realm, untruly upholding, knowledging and affirming maliciously and traitorously the same Bishop to be supreme head of Christ's Church by God's holy words, intending thereby to subvert and overthrow the good and godly laws and statutes of this realm their natural country, made and grounded by the authority of the Holy Church by the most excellent wisdom and policy and goodness of the King's majesty, etc."

The attitude of the Knights towards the misfortunes that had befallen them, through no fault of their own, was worthy of the best traditions of their great Order. Throughout the painful ordeal through which they had passed, they made honour their only guide, and without a moment's hesitation they sacrificed their estates and their careers, rather than abate one atom of their principles. As Fuller in his "Holy War" remarks, "the suppression of the Hospitallers deserveth especial notice, because the manner thereof was different from the dissolution of other religious houses. The Knights Hospitallers, being gentlemen and soldiers of ancient families and high spirits, would not be brought to present to Henry VIII such puling petitions and public recognitions of their errors as other Orders had done." The shock of the dissolution was the death-blow of the Grand Prior, Brother William Weston, who died of a broken heart on May 7th, 1540, the very day that the Act of Dissolution took effect. He was a Knight of great distinction and came of a family long connected with the Order, an ancestor, John Weston, having been Grand Prior from 1476-1489. In the final siege of Rhodes, he had commanded the Post of England, and succeeded

* See Mifsud, p. 207.

the gallant John Buck as Turcopolier. After the evacuation, he was placed in command of the sailing vessels of the Order, which proceeded direct from Crete to Messina. He was buried in St. James's Church, Clerkenwell, where his monument can still be seen. The death of the Grand Prior was not the only tragedy that accompanied the dissolution : three of the Knights gained the glorious crown of martyrdom, and though the Knights of the present day belong for the most part to a different creed, yet they will never forget the names or cease to honour the memories of those three gallant gentlemen of their Order who laid down their lives on the scaffold for conscience sake, rather than deny the faith in which they had been born and bred.

The best known of the martyrs is the Blessed Adrian Fortescue, a cousin of Queen Anne Boleyn, and in the island of Malta he has always been revered as a martyr. A gallant soldier, he had been created a Knight of the Bath by Henry VIII, in recognition of his services in the French War, and in 1520 had attended the King on the famous Field of the Cloth of Gold. In 1532 he was admitted to the Order of St. John by the Grand Prior as a Knight of Devotion, but was never a professed Knight. He was first arrested in 1534, under the Act of Supremacy, but was released in the autumn under a general amnesty ; he was re-arrested in 1539 with Brother Thomas Dingley, Commander of Baddesley and Mayne, a nephew of the Grand Prior. The two Knights were tried together on April 20th for refusing to deny the Pope's supremacy over the Church, and on July 10th were beheaded on Tower Hill. The third of the martyrs, Brother David Gunstone, was admitted to the Order in 1533, and proceeded to Malta the following year. A high-spirited young Knight, he was arrested and imprisoned for duelling in 1535, but the next year was pardoned, and resumed his " Caravans." He returned to England in the spring of 1540, and was arrested in the following year under the Act of Supremacy. A more shameful death awaited this poor Knight, and on July 1st, 1641, he was dragged on a hurdle through Southwark and hanged, drawn and quartered at St. Thomas Waterings. Besides these three Knights, Brother William Salisbury and



From a painting by Fr. Mathias Preti at Malta.

THE BLESSED ADRIAN FORTESCUE.
Martyred on Tower Hill, 10th July, 1539.

Brother John Forest also gave their lives for the faith, though they failed to gain the crown of martyrdom. Both were admitted to the Order in 1537, they served their caravans together and returned to England in June, 1539. Apparently both of them died in prison, and the name of the former is qualified in the minutes of the Tongue by the addition of the words "the good knight," a term applied equally to the martyred David Gunstone, and carrying with it the implication of martyrdom.

Although the Tongue of England had now been dissolved in that country the firm action of the Grand Master and Council prevented the Knights from disbanding, and kept the organization in existence, ready to resume its old life, when happier times should arrive. The ten English Knights assembled in the Auberge at Malta, seeing that the estates from which they derived their sustenance were confiscated, and warned that the pensions granted by the King would be forfeited unless they resided in England, despairing of the future, decided to wind up their affairs, sell their plate and valuables and return home. But the Grand Master, having greater confidence in the future, and being determined to keep the Tongue in existence, forbade their departure and made arrangements for their support out of the Common Treasury. Under the abnormal circumstances it was decided not to fill the vacant Grand Priory of England until the religious troubles were over, and on the death of the Turcopolier, Brother Giles Russell, in 1543, that post also was kept vacant, the military duties being handed over to the Grand Master's Seneschal. Similarly on the death of the Bailiff of Egle the Bailiwick remained vacant. To represent the Tongue of England on the Council Brother Oswald Massingberd was elected Lieutenant-Turcopolier.

On the death of Henry VIII in January, 1547, there was for the moment a hope that his policy would be reversed and the Order of St. John once more restored in England. The Tongue at once decided to send an agent to London to investigate the possibilities of recovering their Commanderies, but so impoverished were the Knights that they actually had to pawn some of their plate to defray his expenses. So hopeful was the Order

that when the Grand Prior of Ireland died some months later the Grand Priory was not kept vacant as the other Bailiwicks had been, but was bestowed upon Brother Oswald Massingberd, subject to the proviso that he was not to take the title or assume the Grand Cross until he should have entered into legal possession of his Priory. In the following year the Grand Prior of St. Gilles, then on a mission to the French Court, was instructed to request the King of France to use his influence with the English Government to procure the restoration of the Order. Confident that restoration was close at hand, the Council decided to fill the vacant post of Turcopolier, and Brother Nicholas Upton, Commander of Ribstone, was duly elected. But shortly afterwards it became apparent that with the religious and political influences now at work in England there could be no hope of restoration for the present. Accordingly when Brother Nicholas Upton fell in action in 1551, the Council decided to keep the office of Turcopolier vacant, Brother Oswald Massingberd once more representing the Tongue of England on the Council as Lieutenant-Turcopolier.

The death of Nicholas Upton was worthy of the finest traditions of the English Tongue. In the summer of 1551 a great Turkish fleet under Sinan Pasha and the famous corsair Dragut, destined for the siege of Tripoli, attempted to surprise Malta on the way. The Turkish fleet put in at Marsa Muscat on July 16th, and immediately began landing troops. Nicholas Upton as Turcopolier was responsible for coast defence, and placing himself at the head of 30 Knights and 400 mounted Maltese at once attacked the landing parties. Finding them scattered over the countryside plundering and burning, he inflicted enormous losses upon them, and when the Turks attempted to concentrate in the plain of Curmi he charged them so furiously that they could make no serious resistance, and were driven back through Birchircara on their ships. But Brother Nicholas Upton, though a gallant Knight was very corpulent, and a day in the saddle under a tropical July sun combined with the weight of his armour was too much for him. As soon as the fighting was over he completely collapsed and died a few hours later. He was not the only

Englishman to distinguish himself in this Turkish raid, for after failing to take Notabile, the Turks turned upon Gozo, where such panic reigned that it surrendered almost at once. The Abbé Vertot tells* us "there was only a brave English cannoneer in the place, who levelling his cannon killed several Turks and hindered the rest from advancing up to the wall (*i.e.*, of the castle). But the gallant Englishman being killed by a cannon-ball from the Turkish batteries, not a man would take his post." That the name of this brave man should no longer be on record is deeply to be regretted.

In 1553 King Edward VI died and the Protestant Government fell from power. With the accession of Queen Mary it seemed as if the troubles of the Tongue of England were really at an end. A devout Catholic, it was her chief ambition to make her country once more a loyal daughter of the Church and to place its religion in the same position that it had occupied at the time of her father's accession. One of her earliest acts was to send a certain Captain Ormond to Malta to open negotiations for the restoration of the Grand Priories of England and Ireland. The Grand Master, John de Homedes, now nearly 90 years of age, lay at the point of death, and was unable even to realise that the tragedy which had cast such a cloud over his mastership was really at an end. But the negotiations were continued with his successor, Claude de la Sengle, and in 1554 the first step was taken when he confirmed Brother Oswald Massingberd, now the only English Knight left the Convent, in his appointment as Grand Prior of Ireland. In the following year Peter de Monserrat, Grand Conservator and Pillar of Aragon, was sent on a special mission to Rome, Spain and England. He was given full powers to admit new English Knights and Chaplains to the Order and to appoint Commanders, and was informed that he could obtain full details respecting the estates of the Order from a certain priest named Parpaglia and from the Grand Prior of Ireland, who had just returned to England. As a result of these negotiations letters patent were issued by the Crown on April 2nd, 1557, authorising Cardinal Pole as papal legate to reinstate the Order in its old

* Book XI, p. 121.

position, and handing back all those estates which had not yet been alienated.

Accordingly, on May 5th the Cardinal Legate issued a decree recognising the Grand Priory of England, with its ancient dignities and ten of its Commanderies. On the same date he issued a further decree recognising the Grand Priory of Ireland, with Brother Oswald Massingberd as its Grand Prior. At the same time he issued instructions that the Archbishop of Dublin and two of the Irish Bishops should place the new Prior in possession of his Priory. The appointment of the new Commanders was confirmed on December 1st, when they were formally inducted to their Commanderies with all due ceremony in the great Hall of the Priory at Clerkenwell. Except for its Church, the Priory had suffered no damage, having been used since the dissolution partly as a storehouse and partly as a residence for the Princess Mary, but the Church had been almost completely destroyed, having been blown up by the Protector Somerset in 1549, to provide materials for his new palace of Somerset House. The chancel was practically all that remained, and Cardinal Pole restored this to use by building on the present west wall. In Ireland apparently no Commanders were appointed, the estates doubtless being retained in the hands of the Grand Prior, as in the days of Brother John Rawson. The state of the reconstituted Tongue of England was therefore as follows :—

GRAND CROSSES.

Turcopolier ....	....	Fr. Richard Shelley
Grand Prior of England ....	....	Fr. Thomas Tresham.
Grand Prior of Ireland ....	....	Fr. Oswald Massingberd
Bailiff of Egle ....	....	Fr. Peter Felizes de la Nuça.

COMMANDERS.

Slebeche and Halston ....	....	The Turcopolier
Newland ....	....	Fr. Cuthbert Layton
Templebruer ....	....	Fr. Edward Brown
Willoughton ....	....	Fr. Thomas Thornehill.
Yeveley and Barrow ....	....	Fr. Henry Gerard
South Baddesley ....	....	Fr. George Aylmer
Quenington ....	....	Fr. Oliver Starkey



TOMB OF FR. THOMAS TRESHAM.
GRAND PRIOR OF ENGLAND. 1557-1559.

In Rushton Church, Northants.

Of the Grand Crosses, neither Richard Shelley nor Thomas Tresham were professed Knights of the Order prior to their appointment, but exceptional circumstances necessitated exceptional measures, and both had rendered valuable services to the Crown in the stormy days that followed the death of Edward VI. The Bailiff of Egle was a professed Knight of the Tongue of Castile, who apparently had been of assistance in the negotiations that preceded the restoration; to render him eligible for the Bailiwick he was made an English subject. As regards the Commanders, all except James Shelley and Oliver Starkey had been professed Knights prior to the dissolution by Henry VIII, and all were in receipt of pensions, except the veteran George Aylmer, who had fought in the siege of Rhodes.

Shortly after the induction of the new Commanders, the Bailiff of Egle left for Malta, taking with him three of the Knights, Brothers Oliver Starkey, Commander of Quenington, James Shelley, Commander of Templecombe, and George Dudley, who had been admitted to the Order in 1545. At Malta they found already there Brother Henry Gerard, Commander of Yeveley and Barrow, who was elected Lieutenant-Turcopolier, and a Scottish Knight, Brother John James Sandilands. Together they re-established an English Auberge, in readiness for the reception of more Knights, who it was confidently expected would be sent out from England. The arrival of the Bailiff of Egle had created somewhat of a sensation. The Castilian Knights bitterly resented his promotion to the Grand Cross over the heads of Knights senior to him, even though it was into a different Tongue, as they feared that it would give him a claim to Commanderies in his native Tongue before his original seniority justified it. When they saw him land at Malta, actually wearing the Grand Cross, they were so enraged that it is said they scarcely refrained from killing him. The matter was referred to the Grand Master, the famous John de la Valette, who ruled that his seniority in the Tongue of Castile was not to be affected by his position in the Tongue of England.

The hopes with which the English Auberge had been re-established at Malta were doomed to disappointment, for in November,

1558, Queen Mary died, and with the accession of her sister Queen Elizabeth, the policy of the Government was again completely changed. The Order of St. John in England, it is true, was not again suppressed as it had been by Henry VIII, but the final confiscation of its Commanderies had results not very dissimilar. In theory, no doubt, the "Prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England" remained a body corporate with perpetual succession, as established by Queen Mary, but when the Commanderies on which its brethren depended for their existence had been confiscated, it speedily became dormant. The Grand Prior of England died on March 3rd, 1559, before the confiscation had taken place, and was buried with great state and ceremony at Rushton, where his monument is still to be seen. The Grand Prior of Ireland surrendered his Priory into the hands of the Earl of Sussex in June, 1559, under circumstances that were not considered to redound to his honour. In Scotland, the Prior of that country, Brother James Sandilands of Calder, had become a convert to Protestantism in 1553. In consequence, he was deprived of the Commandery of Torphichen in 1560, and Brother John James Sandilands appointed Commander in his place. Although the new Commander was unable to obtain possession of his Commandery, none the less James Sandilands' position was very insecure, and in 1564 he surrendered the lands of the Order of St. John to the Crown, receiving a grant of them to himself and his descendants with the title of Lord Torphichen. Such was the end of the Venerable Tongue of England in those countries upon which it depended.

STATE OF THE ORDER IN 1540.

The list of pensions granted at the dissolution in 1540 provides a nominal roll of the Tongue of England at that date, exclusive of any brethren in prison or exile for their religious beliefs,* and excluding the brethren belonging to the Priory

* It is not possible to give a list of brethren excluded from the list of pensioners, but amongst them are William Salisbury and John Forest, known to have been in prison, and also George Aylmer, who had served in the siege of Rhodes, and at the restoration of Queen Mary was appointed Commander of South Baddesley.

of Scotland. The ten brethren in the Convent at Malta at that time are marked with a star. The Grand Prior of Ireland appears to be the only Knight from that country.

GRAND CROSSES.

Fr. Giles Russell,* Turcopolier and Pillar of England.
 Fr. William Weston, Grand Prior of England.
 Fr. John Rawson, Senr., Grand Prior of Ireland.
 Fr. John Rawson, Junr., Bailiff of Egle.

KNIGHTS OR SERVING BROTHERS.

Fr. Philip Babington.	Fr. Nicholas Lambert.*
Fr. Edward Bellingham.	Fr. Cuthbert Layton.
Fr. Richard Brooke.	Fr. Oswald Massingberd.*
Fr. Edward Brown.*	Fr. Dunstan Newdegate.*
Fr. Ambrose Cave.	Fr. Thomas Pemberton.
Fr. Thomas Copledike.	Fr. Henry Pole.
Fr. Henry Gerard.*	Fr. John Sutton.
Fr. David Gunstone.	Fr. Thomas Thornehill.*
Fr. Edward Hussey.	Fr. William Tyrrell.
Fr. James Hussey.*	Fr. Nicholas Upton.*
Fr. Clement West.*	

CHAPLAINS.

Fr. John Mablestone, Sub-Prior of the Church.
 Fr. William Ermastede, Chancellor.
 Fr. Walter Lindsay.
 Fr. John Winter.

NOTE.—There appear to have been only two Scottish Knights at this date, Fr. Walter Lindsay, Commander of Torphichen and Prior of Scotland, and Fr. Alexander Dundas; Fr. James Sandilands of Calder was only admitted at the end of the year.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SIEGE OF MALTA.

WHEN the news of the confiscation of their Commanderies first reached the Convent at Malta it does not seem to have been realized that the possibility of reconstituting the Tongue of England on its ancient basis was ended for ever. In 1561 the Grand Master, John de la Valette, attempted to open negotiations with Queen Elizabeth, and sent Peter de la Fontaine, Grand Hospitaller and Pillar of France, on a special mission to London. But in the prevailing atmosphere of the English court no possibility of success existed. On the other hand there was no feeling of hostility in England towards the Knights of Malta, but rather the reverse. During the great siege by the Turks in 1565 public prayers were offered up in the diocese of Salisbury for its deliverance, and when it was known that the siege had been raised a general thanksgiving was ordered throughout the province of Canterbury by Archbishop Parker. None the less, in the religious persecution that disfigured a part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, amongst those who suffered were certain Knights connected with the Order, probably as Knights of Devotion. Sir Marmaduke Bowes was hanged at York on November 17th, 1585, for giving shelter to Catholic priests, whilst Sir Thomas Mytton, Sir Edward Waldegrave and others suffered death for the same offence.

Deprived of the hope of any longer finding a real career in the Order of St. John, the little group of English Knights constituting the Tongue of England gradually broke up and scattered. Those veteran Commanders Brothers George Aylmer, Edward Brown, Cuthbert Layton, Oswald Massingberd and Thomas Thornehill, too old to begin life afresh in the Convent, presumably retired into civil life. Of the Knights still in the

Convent, Brothers Henry Gerard, George Dudley and James Shelley were sent to England in 1560 as a special commission to try to arrange for the installation of John James Sandilands as Commander of Torphichen. Henry Gerard and George Dudley never returned, whilst James Shelley did not do so until after the great siege. The Turcopolier, Brother Richard Shelley, according to custom, was elected Grand Prior of England in 1561,* in succession to Brother Thomas Tresham, but the Grand Master and Council decided not to fill the vacancy for Turcopolier, following the precedents of 1543 and 1551, and the Tongue of England was represented on the Council by Brother Oliver Starkey as Lieutenant-Turcopolier, the military duties of the office being again performed by the Seneschal. When the great siege of Malta began in 1565 there were only two representatives of the English Tongue left in the Convent, Brother Oliver Starkey, Commander of Quenington, Lieutenant-Turcopolier and Latin Secretary to the Grand Master, and Brother Peter Felizes, Bailiff of Egle, for the Scottish Knight, John James Sandilands, an unworthy representative of his country, was already dead by the executioner's hands.† The Grand Prior of England as soon as he heard of the siege hurried out to Malta, but to his annoyance found himself compelled to remain at Naples,‡ unable to move, and did not reach the Convent until the following year.

The Sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent, who had driven the Order from Rhodes, still reigned over the Ottoman Empire, and he had bitter reason to regret the generous terms he had given to the Knights in 1522. At Malta they had resumed their ancient role as one of the chief bulwarks of Christendom, and were an effectual check upon the westward expansion of the Turks. Accordingly in 1565 he despatched a great expedition against Malta which should complete once and for all the work he had

* The date 1566 is generally given, but the true date is September 20th, 1561. See Mifsud, p. 167.

† He had been guilty of stealing plate from a church. Mifsud, p. 174.

‡ See Mifsud, p. 116.

begun at Rhodes forty years before. On May 18th the Turkish armada came into sight, 130 galleys, 50 sailing ships and a great fleet of transports under the famous Admiral Piali Pasha. The fleet had on board a landing force of 30,000 troops and a heavy siege train under the command of Mustapha Pasha, one of the Grand Seignior's most distinguished generals. To meet the attack the Grand Master, John de la Valette, the last of the great heroes of the Order, had at his disposal 541 religious, 5,000 Maltese militia, and 3,000 miscellaneous troops, including 800 Spanish infantry, the finest soldiers of their day.

The Turks selected as their first objective the detached fort of St. Elmo, situated at the end of the promontory where Valetta now stands, and commanding the entrance to the great harbour on its right and to the Marsa Muscat on its left. Situated on the great harbour and opposite to the promontory of St. Elmo stood the city of the Knights, then known as Borgo, and built on a narrow strip of land having the castle of St. Angelo at its extremity. Parallel with Borgo, and separated from it by the harbour of the galleys, lay the new town of Senglea, protected on its landward side by Fort St. Michael. The Turks regarded the capture of St. Elmo as essential, because so long as it remained untaken they could not use the Marsa Muscat as an anchorage for their fleet. The fort was star-shaped, having four salients, on the sea side arose a cavalier, separated by a ditch and dominating the entire work, and on the side of the Marsa Muscat was a small raveline. The fort was so restricted in area that not more than 300 to 400 men could be utilised in its defence.

In all the brilliant and romantic history of the Order of St. John there is nothing that stirs the imagination more deeply than the defence of this little fort. And in all that history there is no incident more dramatic and more tragic than the last desperate fight of that little knot of wounded men on the eve of the great festival of their Order. The Turkish bombardment opened on May 24th, and by the 29th their infantry were in occupation of the covered way. On June 3rd the raveline was captured by surprise during the night, and the Turks were

so emboldened by this success that the following day they made a determined effort to carry the fort by escalade. All their attacks were beaten off with terrific losses and their casualties were estimated at 2,000, but a third of the garrison lay dead, including twenty Knights. The conduct of the siege was now assumed by Dragut, one of the hardest fighting sailors in the Turkish navy, who had just arrived with reinforcements from Tripoli. He systematically pounded the fort to pieces with his siege guns, and then at dawn on the 16th delivered a general assault. For six hours the fight swayed backwards and forwards, until the intolerable heat rendered further effort impossible and the Turks broke off the attack. But three-quarters of the little garrison were killed or disabled and seventeen more Knights were dead.

So far communication across the harbour between St. Elmo and Borgo had remained open after darkness, and each night the killed and wounded had been removed and reinforcements sent in to take their place. Dragut now determined that the investment must be made complete and that, regardless of the deadly fire from the guns of St. Angelo, a battery must be constructed capable of preventing any communication by water after dark. By the 19th the battery was finished, though at a heavy cost in life and Dragut himself was mortally wounded, but the investment was now completed. For three days and nights the concentrated fire of thirty-six heavy guns was poured into the doomed fort, and then at dawn on the 22nd the assault was delivered. Three times the Turks advanced to the attack and three times they were hurled back from those blood-soaked ruins, until there was no more fight left in them. But two hundred of that little garrison were dead, few could have been still unwounded, and there was no more hope of reinforcements from Borgo. The end was not far distant, and in the eloquent words of the Abbé Vertot*: "The besieged in the fort, being now out of all hopes of succour, thought of nothing but ending their lives like good Christians and true religious. For which

* Book XII, p. 218,

purpose they were all night long preparing themselves for it by receiving the sacraments of the Church. When this was over and that nothing remained but the giving up their souls to God, they embraced one another with tenderness and retired to their several posts, in order to die with their weapons in their hands and expire in the bed of honour. Such as were not able to walk by reason of their wounds had themselves carried in chairs to the side of the breach where, armed with swords which they held with both their hands, they waited with a heroic resolution until such time as their enemies, towards whom they were not able to advance, should come and attack them in their posts."

On the morning of June 23rd, as soon as it was daylight, the Turks once more advanced to the attack, but that little band of heroes for four hours still held the enemy at bay. There was a pause in the fighting, during which the Turkish arquebusiers occupied the cavalier and other points of advantage, and began shooting down the sixty badly wounded men, all that were left of the garrison. And then at 10 a.m. came the end, the commandant of the fort, the brave old Bailiff of Negropont, John d'Eguaras by name, badly wounded though he was, limped forward to meet the enemy with a half-pike in his hand. The second-in-command, Colonel le Mas, a Provençal Knight, waited for the end seated on a log, since his leg was fractured, brandishing a two-handed sword, "a weapon he used to manage with singular skill."* It is reported that in this position he slew several of the enemy before he was cut down. Of the garrison five soldiers alone escaped by jumping into the harbour and swimming across. In all 1,500 Christians, including 130 Knights, fell in the defence of St. Elmo, whilst the Turks lost 8,000 of their best troops. Well might Mustapha Pasha exclaim,† as he surveyed the ruins: "What will not the father cost us when the son, who is so small, has cost the bravest of our soldiers?"

* Taaffe, Vol. IV, p. 76.

† Vertot, Book XII, p. 219.

The savage old Turkish general had the heads of the dead Knights cut off and placed on a line of stakes facing St. Angelo, their bodies he crucified and, gashing great crosses on their chests, launched them into the harbour at a point where the current would carry them across to Borgo. The first sight that greeted the eyes of the Knights on the morning of St. John the Baptist's day was the arrival of the mutilated bodies of their comrades. The Grand Master was moved to such fierce anger at the sight that by way of reprisals he ordered the whole of his prisoners to be beheaded and their heads to be fired from the guns into the Turkish camp. From that day onwards no quarter was ever given on either side, and with grim humour the Knights called it "St. Elmo's pay." But to his assembled brethren on that day the Grand Master uttered words* of comfort and encouragement that should never be forgotten in the Order: "What could a true Knight desire more ardently than to die in arms? and what could be a more fitting fate for a member of the Order of St. John than to lay down his life in defence of his faith? Both of these precious boons have been vouchsafed to our brethren; why then should we mourn for them? Rather should we rejoice at the prospect of the glorious futurity which they have earned. They have gained a martyr's crown and they will reap a martyr's reward. Why, too, should we be dismayed because the Moslem has at length succeeded in planting his accursed standard on the ruined battlements of St. Elmo? Have we not taught him a lesson which must strike dismay throughout his whole army? If poor, weak, insignificant St. Elmo were able to withstand his most powerful efforts for upwards of a month, how can he expect to succeed against the stronger works and more numerous garrison of the Borgo? With us must be the victory. Let us then on this sacred day, before the altar of God, once more renew those vows of constancy which our slaughtered brethren have so nobly accomplished."

Whilst the Turks were engaged in transporting their guns and opening their siege-works before Borgo and Senglea, the

* Porter, Vol. II, p. 113.

garrison was greatly encouraged by the arrival of a small reinforcement. During a heavy mist four Spanish galleys successfully ran the blockade and landed 80 Knights and gentlemen and 650 soldiers, under Colonel Melchior de Robles, a Spanish officer of great distinction. During the night of June 29th these men were brought into Borgo by water, and Colonel Robles at his special request was placed in command of Fort St. Michael, the point of greatest danger. This reinforcement is known to history as "the little succour." It included two English gentlemen adventurers, by name John Smith and Edward Stanley, a welcome addition to the Post of England. The historian Taaffe suggests that there were probably a few other Englishmen present whose names were lost. What authority if any he has for the suggestion is not clear, but Brother Oliver Starkey, the Lieutenant-Turcopolier, had to draw upon soldiers and sailors of the galleys to man the Post of England, which lay upon the sea side of Borgo, between the Bastion of Castile and the Hospital.

On July 5th the Turkish bombardment began from nine batteries mounting 70 guns, their fire being chiefly directed upon Fort St. Michael and the Spur Bastion at the seaward end of Senglea, the two points selected for attack. The bombardment continued for ten days, and then on the morning of July 15th the first assault was delivered. Hassan, the Begler Beg of Algiers, who had recently arrived with strong reinforcements, was entrusted with the attack on St. Michael, whilst his lieutenant, Candalissa, a Greek renegade, assailed the Spur Bastion by water. The latter lost heavily in crossing, several boat-loads of troops being sunk by gun-fire, but he was successful in effecting a lodgment in the Spur Bastion mainly owing to the confusion caused amongst the defenders by the explosion of a barrel of powder. Peter del Monte, the admiral and Pillar of Italy, who commanded in Senglea, led a counter-attack in person, but was unable to drive out the enemy. So serious was the situation that heavy reinforcements had to be sent across the pontoon bridge from Borgo under the Commander de Giou, and it was only at the end of five hours' savage fighting that Candalissa was finally

driven back. It is said that out of 4,000 troops engaged in this attack only 500 were left at the end of the day.

Meanwhile Hassan had been delivering a series of fierce assaults on the land front of Senglea, and his Algerians in the first rush succeeded in planting their standards along the crest of the breach in the southern Bastion. Here Colonel Robles commanded, "a person of celebrated valour, and yet more so for his experience in war,"* and drove back the enemy by well directed gun-fire and musketry. Repulsed at this point Hassan delivered a second assault at the other end of the land front on the Bastion held by Brother Carlos Rufo, but after heavy hand-to-hand fighting was at last driven out by the arrival of the troops that had just defeated Candalissa. Withdrawing his exhausted Algerians, Hassan replaced them by a strong force of Janissaries and delivered yet a third assault. For a moment the result wavered in the balance, but a brilliant charge led by an Italian Knight, de Simiane, finally drove the enemy out of the work and brought the fighting of July 15th to an end. But the Order of St. John had paid a heavy price for victory, and on this day lost 140 Knights and gentlemen and five times as many of its soldiers.

Mustapha Pasha now decided upon a redistribution of his forces and to develop a simultaneous attack upon Borgo, in order to prevent its garrison in future from coming to the assistance of Senglea. Whilst he retained in his own hands the attack upon Fort St. Michael, which he still regarded as his chief objective, he called up the Admiral Piali Pasha to take charge of the attack upon Borgo and placed Candalissa in command of the blockading squadron of galleys. On August 2nd another attack was delivered on Senglea, which was only beaten back after six hours' heavy fighting, and on the 7th came the great assault, in which victory seemed at last to be within the grasp of the Turks. For the attack on Fort St. Michael 8,000 men were detailed by Mustapha Pasha, whilst 3,000 men under Piali Pasha were to deliver a subsidiary attack on the Bastion of

* Vertot, Book XIII, p. 13.

Castile in order to keep the garrison of Borgo fully occupied. The rush of the Turks carried all before them, and the crests of the breaches were occupied in such force that not all the efforts of the Knights could dislodge them. The fighting had lasted four hours and "the Grand Master was in some pain about the success of it."* It seemed as if Senglea must fall, when to the equal astonishment of both sides Mustapha Pasha, with victory at last in his hands, suddenly sounded the retreat. The Governor of Notabile, a Portuguese Knight named Mesquita, seeing that an unusually heavy attack was taking place on Fort St. Michael, had sent out all the mounted troops at his disposal with orders to try to create a diversion by raiding the Turkish hospitals. The troops who should have been guarding the hospitals had withdrawn to watch the fighting, and in the confusion which followed exaggerated reports reached Mustapha Pasha that a relieving army from Sicily had landed in the island and was advancing to attack him in rear. For the moment his judgment failed him, and sounding the retreat he reorganised his troops and marched out to meet the relief force, only to find a little handful of cavalry, who speedily withdrew to Notabile. Amongst those who were slain in the defence of Fort St. Michael was that naturalised Englishman, Brother Peter Felizes, Bailiff of Egle, who most worthily maintained the honour of his adopted Tongue.

After the failure of two general assaults, delivered with the full weight of his arms, Mustapha Pasha decided to change his tactics and to wear down the garrison by the unrelenting pressure of a continuous series of local attacks. Day and night the fighting practically never ceased, the garrison continually growing smaller and smaller, until on August 18th the Turks delivered another general assault. On this occasion the main attack was to be delivered by Piali Pasha on the Bastion of Castile. In order to deceive the garrison he made no sign of movement when Mustapha Pasha advanced against Fort St. Michael, hoping that the Grand Master would detach troops to its assistance from Borgo. It was not until fighting had been in progress for some considerable time that he suddenly sprang

* Vertot, Book XIII, p. 19.

a mine under the Bastion of Castile and launched his troops to the assault. For the moment it seemed as if all was lost, but the Grand Master without even waiting to put on his cuirass placed himself at the head of the Knights of his household and delivered such a furious counter-attack that after much hard fighting the Turks were compelled to fall back. Amongst the Knights of the Grand Master's household was Brother Oliver Starkey, Commander of Quenington, whose career of devoted service to the Order he loved sheds such lustre over the declining years of the venerable Tongue of England.

The Turkish Pashas, who well knew that a relief force had already assembled in Sicily and might sail at any moment, now became desperate, and day after day hurled their troops to the assault. So feeble had the garrison become that on the 21st the Grand Master was compelled to issue orders that all wounded men in hospital still able to stand up must help to man the breaches. But the morale of the Turkish army began to suffer, and after a fresh attack had failed on September 1st, the fatal saying began to pass through their ranks that it was evidently not the will of Allah that they should conquer Malta. There was but little fighting spirit left in the Turkish army when on the morning of September 7th the Viceroy of Sicily landed 8,500 men in the Bay of Melleha under Ascanio della Corna. With this force came 300 brethren of the Order, including an unknown English Knight. No sooner was the news known to Mustapha Pasha than he gave orders for raising the siege. All through that night the Turks were engaged in removing guns and stores, and at daylight on the 8th the embarkation of the troops began. The Grand Master at once occupied the ruins of St. Elmo and so forced the galleys to leave the Marsa Muscat. But Mustapha Pasha now hearing that the relief force was so small, landed 9,000 men in St. Paul's Bay, and advanced to attack it. No battle however was destined to take place, for the dispirited Turks no sooner met the enemy than they broke and fled to their ships. Their fleet was far too powerful for the Viceroy of Sicily to attempt to intercept it, and the remnants of the shattered army arrived safely at Constantinople. They are estimated to have

lost 30,000 men in the siege. Suleiman the Magnificent, astounded at the failure of his army, bitterly exclaimed* as he thought of his own conquest of Rhodes, "It is only in my own hand that my sword is invincible."

It is difficult to find words to express the admiration that the noble story of the defence of Malta must always evoke. It remains for all time one of the greatest feats of arms of which history has record. What the garrison had suffered and endured is best shown by the fact that when the first of the relief force entered Borgo, to which the glorious name of Vittoriosa has ever since been given, there were left only 600 men still capable of bearing arms. They had reached the very limits of human endurance when relief at last came. But of that little band of heroes there is one whose name will ever stand supreme, the Grand Master John de la Valette. No man had ever devoted his life more unreservedly to the Order in whose service he had grown grey, for he was seventy-one years of age when the siege began. Since his reception he had never left the Convent except on military service. What his personal influence had meant during the siege is best summed up in the words† of the French historian: "We may justly affirm, and, indeed, all the knights of that time agreed, that the main strength of the island lay in the virtue, the courage, the resolution, and the foresight of La Valette, and that the safety of Malta depended entirely upon his preservation." He is the last but not the least of the great heroes of the Order: Raymond du Puy, who made the brethren of the Hospital into the greatest order of chivalry the world has ever known; D'Aubusson, who successfully defied the mighty power of Mohammed the Great; L'Isle Adam, whose strength of character preserved the Order from the ruin that the loss of Rhodes might so easily have entailed. But the name of La Valette will ever be the best known of the four, from the new city which he founded on the peninsula where St. Elmo stands, a city to which he in simple and humble piety gave the name of Humilissima, but which to the world is known as Valetta.

* Taaffe, IV, p. 109.

† Vertot, Book XIII, p. 16.



From a contemporary medal at St. John's Gate.

FR. RICHARD SHEILLEY.

GRAND PRIOR OF ENGLAND, 1561-1590.

CHAPTER X.

THE TITULAR GRAND PRIORS.

DURING the period immediately following the siege of Malta the small remnant of the Venerable Tongue of England gradually passed away. Brother Oliver Starkey, Commander of Quenington, who had succeeded Peter Felizes de la Nuça as Bailiff of Egle in 1569, died in 1588. Amongst all the distinguished holders of that Bailiwick few have been held in greater esteem in the Order than Oliver Starkey. He stood high in the confidence of the great and famous La Valette, to whom he acted as Latin Secretary, and at his death composed the epitaph placed over his tomb. When he himself died he was laid to rest close by the noble chieftain he had loved and served so well, in the vault of the Grand Masters at Valetta. Brother James Shelley, Commander of Templecombe, had predeceased Oliver Starkey: he is chiefly remembered by the house that he bought at Valetta in 1577 to serve as the English Auberge. At his death he left it to the Conventual Chaplains on condition that if the Tongue of England should be reconstituted the house should then serve as its Auberge.* This house was still known in 1799 as the "*Maison Anglaise et Shelley*." Brother Richard Shelley, Grand Prior of England, died at Venice in 1590, and was succeeded by a French Knight, Frances Astorg de Segreville, nominated by the Grand Master. But there was in the Convent a certain Irish Knight from Waterford named Andrew

* Porter and others have suggested incorrectly that the house called "*La Giornata*," occupying the site on which the Theatre Royal now stands, was the Auberge of England. For this see Mifsud, p. 104.

Wise, who had been received in 1582 and appointed Bailiff of Egle in 1588. He at once appealed to the Court of Rome against the Frenchman's appointment on the grounds that he was ineligible by birth. He won his case and was himself appointed Grand Prior of England, a post which he held until his death in 1631, whilst the Frenchman was consoled with the Bailiwick of Egle.

With the extinction of the English Commanderies the reasons for reserving the great dignities of the Tongue exclusively for Englishmen had ceased to exist. They became merely titular like the Bailiwicks "in partibus," and since they were no longer dependent upon English estates, they were open to the Order in general regardless of nationality. The titles would of course have fallen into abeyance had they not carried with them the Grand Cross, a seat on the Council and a certain precedence. They at once became the objects of intrigue, and the attempts to obtain by favour the important post of Turcopolier were so persistent and so difficult to check that the office was definitely annexed to the Grand Mastership in 1582, and its military duties permanently vested in the Seneschal. The other dignities were placed beyond the reach of intriguers in a similar manner, and the right to confer them was finally vested in the person of the Grand Master by a papal bull of 1612. From now onwards the Grand Priories of England and Ireland and the Bailiwick of Egle were conferred by favour of the Grand Master, and with a few exceptions always upon foreigners. One of those foreign dignitaries is particularly worthy of record. Brother Louis Mendes de Vasconcelos, a Portuguese Knight, was appointed Bailiff of Egle in 1612 and elected Grand Master ten years later. He had greatly distinguished himself in several expeditions against the Turks, and his dauntless bravery had gained for him the admiration of the whole Order. Thus the English Tongue can claim that even in its decline a Bailiff of Egle rose to the Grand Mastership.

But although nothing was now left of the former splendour of the Venerable Tongue of England except a few ancient and honourable titles, nevertheless the framework of the Tongue

was carefully and deliberately preserved in the confident anticipation that the day would surely come when England would once more play a prominent part in the Order of St. John. With this object in view the senior Knight in residence, regardless of nationality, became for the time being the Pillar of England. It was his duty to keep Auberge for any brethren admitted to the Tongue, and as its Pillar he had a seat and vote in the Grand Master's Council. The duty was not entirely a sinecure, for during this period English brethren were occasionally admitted to the Order. For the same reasons at the elections of the Grand Masters special arrangements were always made for the representation of the Tongue.

Although England was now definitely and finally a Protestant country, the possibility of restoring their Order on the old basis was still considered worthy of consideration by the Grand Master and Council. The mere journey of the Prince of Wales to Spain in 1625 caused the question to be discussed at Rome, and when Charles I married Princess Henrietta Maria of France, and a Catholic Queen once more shared the English throne, serious attention began to be directed to the subject. In 1639 Sir Nicholas Fortescue, with the Queen's approval, submitted to the Grand Master, John Lascaris, a complete scheme for the restoration of the Tongue of England, based on the return of the confiscated Commanderies. It was estimated that if it were not possible to recover the Commanderies a revenue of 12,000 scudi a year would be necessary for the proper maintenance of the English brethren, including the four Grand Crosses. To assist in the prosecution of this scheme Sir Nicholas Fortescue was received as a Knight of Justice in the Tongue of England, but nothing came of it, and he was killed in action in 1644. Then a body of Irishmen gained the support of Don Prospero Colonna, Grand Prior of Ireland, for certain proposals of their own, but again without result. Yet a third scheme was put forward by John Somerset, son of the Marquis of Worcester, when he visited Malta in 1653 on his way back from the Holy Land. The idea of recovering the confiscated Commanderies was definitely abandoned, and instead it was proposed to invest

sufficient capital abroad to produce an annual revenue of 20,000 scudi. It was estimated that this would be sufficient to enable the Tongue to maintain as many brethren as there were in the list of those pensioned at the dissolution of 1540. Under this scheme the Grand Prior of England was to receive 5,000 scudi a year, the Grand Prior of Ireland and the Bailiff of Egle 2,500 scudi each, and there were to be seven Commanderies for military brethren, three at 2,000, and four at 1,000 scudi each. But these proposals came to nothing, doubtless owing to the financial problem they involved.

At last when a Catholic king once more reigned over England the long hoped for restoration seemed capable of being realised. In 1685 the Grand Master, Gregory Carafa, sent a special mission to London to congratulate James II on his accession to the throne and to ascertain his views on the possibility of reconstituting the Venerable Tongue of England. A series of negotiations followed, and in 1687 a special commission of four Conventual Bailiffs was appointed to consider the conditions under which a complete restoration of the Tongue to its ancient position should be feasible. The commission reported that the essential condition was either the restoration of the confiscated Commanderies or some alternative endowment. As always the financial questions involved were the most serious difficulty, and the restoration of the confiscated Commanderies being obviously now impossible, some alternative means of providing the necessary revenue had to be devised. The serious interest taken in the question by James II was shown in the winter of 1687 by the visit to Malta of Henry Fitz James, his second son by Arabella Churchill. The Grand Master conferred upon his distinguished visitor the Cross of the Order in brilliants, and in 1689, at the special request of his royal father, appointed him Grand Prior of England. But all the hopes of the Order were shattered in 1690, when James II was defeated at the Battle of the Boyne and driven into exile.

Brother Henry Fitz James, titular Duke of Albemarle, resigned the Grand Priory of England in 1701 and was succeeded by two Italians, Brothers Giulio Bovio and Francesco Maria



H. W. Fincham, photo.

From a contemporary portrait at St. John's Gate.

FR. ANDREW WISE.

GRAND PRIOR OF ENGLAND, 1593-1631.

Ferretti. But the House of Stuart, even in exile, always retained a deep interest in the Order of St. John, and that Prince who styled himself James III of England protested vigorously against the title of Grand Prior of England being bestowed upon foreigners. He insisted that this dignity ought always to be reserved for Englishmen, and out of deference to his protests Francesco Ferretti was translated to the Bailiwick of Cremona in 1726, and a certain Irish Knight, Sir Nicholas Gerardin, was appointed Grand Prior in his place. But he was appointed only with certain restrictions: he was to take precedence below the Grand Crosses of Justice and to rank only as a Grand Cross of Grace until the Tongue of England should again be restored to its ancient position. In 1733 Nicholas Gerardin was succeeded as Grand Prior by Lord Peter Fitz James, son of the second Duke of Berwick, and he was succeeded in the following year by his younger brother, Lord Anthony Bonaventure Fitz James, who held the title until his marriage in 1755, when he ceased to be a professed Knight of the Order but remained attached to it as a Knight of Honour and Devotion. So ended the connection of the House of Stuart with the Grand Priory of England, which now passed first to an Italian and then to the new Anglo-Bavarian Tongue.

So far the Order of St. John had only considered reviving the Tongue of England in its old form, with such modifications as changed circumstances had rendered necessary, but now a fresh policy was to be adopted—that of infusing new blood into the old organisation. The Elector of Bavaria had long desired to see the Order established in his dominions, and was prepared to endow it with Commanderies formed from the estates of the Jesuits, who had been recently suppressed. It would have been only natural to add the Bavarians to the Tongue of Germany, but the brethren of that venerable society were so rigid and unyielding in their objection to the slightest change in its composition that the Grand Master Emmanuel de Rohan decided to incorporate the Bavarians in the dormant Tongue of England, which was henceforth to take the name of the Anglo-Bavarian Tongue. But before any change could

be made definite it was necessary to have the consent of the Pope as first Superior of the Order, and of the King of England as sovereign of the country principally concerned, even though the English Tongue had no more than a nominal existence. The papal sanction was obtained in 1782, and in the following year George III expressed his approval of the proposal.

The Anglo-Bavarian Tongue consisted of the Grand Priory of Ebersburg and the Bailiwick of Neuberg, together with, in theory, the Grand Priories of England and Ireland and the Bailiwick of Egle. The Grand Priory of Poland was added to the Tongue in 1785, but on the final partition of that country in 1797 became known as the Grand Priory of Russia. The ancient office of Turcopolier was revived for the Pillar of the Anglo-Bavarian Tongue, and was held by Brother Johann Baptist von Flachslanden, whilst in 1790 the Bailiwick of Egle was conferred upon another Bavarian, Brother Norbert von Tarring. The Tongue purchased as its Auberge the Palace of Gaspard Carneiro, Bailiff of Acre, and was allotted for the use of its brethren the Chapel of St. Charles in the Conventual Church, since the chapel* originally reserved for the Tongue of England had been annexed by that of Germany. Over the centre of the Auberge floated the Standard of the Order, with that of the Grand Master on its left; over the right corner was hoisted the Standard of the Tongue, impaling the Royal Arms of England with those of Bavaria, and over the left corner was the Standard of Poland.

The Anglo-Bavarian Tongue was destined to have only a short existence, but before the French occupation of Malta in 1798 brought it to a premature end it was to receive a curious and interesting addition. The young Czar of Russia, Paul I, who had always been an enthusiastic admirer of the Knights of Malta, desired a new Grand Priory of Russia for those who belonged to the Greek Church. His wishes could not be dis-

* The chapel originally intended for England was the fourth to the right of the high altar. The Chapter-General of 1603 allowed the Tongue of Germany to occupy this chapel, on condition that it should revert to the Tongue of England, should it be reconstituted. See *Misud*, p. 117.



ARMS OF THE ANGLO-BAVARIAN TONGUE.



regarded, and moreover the complimentary Title of "Protector of the Order of Malta" had only just been conferred upon him, with the crosses of the three heroes, D'Aubusson, L'Isle Adam and La Valette. The religious question naturally presented grave difficulties, but times had changed since the days of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth. The Order already contained a non-Catholic branch in the Protestant Bailiwick of Brandenburg, with which it had resumed communion in 1763, after a schism of more than two centuries. A special commission was appointed to investigate the question, and reported in favour of the establishment of the proposed Grand Priory, regarding it as "an aggregation for crosses of devotion, such as have been granted at all times to persons professing other religions." The new Grand Priory already sanctioned by Grand Master von Hompesch was accordingly established by the Czar, who had been elected Grand Master in 1798. This election of the Czar created many grave difficulties and met with the strong disapproval of the Pope. The Elector of Bavaria found himself involved in so many disputes that he decided to abolish the Order of St. John in his dominions, and so brought to an end the short-lived union of the Tongue of England with Bavaria, although the Anglo-Bavarian Tongue continued a nominal existence for some years longer.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REVIVAL OF THE GRAND PRIORY OF ENGLAND.

THE French Revolution created for the Order of St. John of Jerusalem the third great crisis in its history. The first blow fell in 1792, when the Commanderies of the three Tongues of Provence, Auvergne and France were confiscated and the Order declared to be dissolved in that country. Six years later in June 1798, Napoleon Bonaparte on his way to Egypt seized Malta and drove out the Grand Master and his Knights, who now completely ruined dispersed for the most part to the countries of their origin. But many of the Knights fled to Russia, where they received a cordial welcome from the Czar Paul, the Protector of the Order. In gratitude for this kindness, and seeing in their powerful Protector the only hope for the future, the refugees in a most irregular manner elected him Grand Master without waiting for the resignation of Ferdinand von Hompesch, which was not received until the following year. On the death of the Czar Paul in 1801 his successor Alexander I assumed the title of "Protector of the Order," but left the Grand Mastership to the decision of the Pope, who nominated Count John Tommasi di Cortona to fill the vacancy. He proclaimed himself Grand Master in the Priory Church at Messina, subsequently transferring the Convent to Catania, where he died in 1805. He was the last Grand Master for over seventy years, the Popes as first superiors of the Order nominating a series of Lieutenant-Masters during that period.

The great problem that had to be solved during this long Lieutenantancy was how to adapt the ancient religious and military Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem to the requirements of the 19th century. It was obvious that it could only



From a painting by Dudley Heath at St. John's Gate.

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.
FIRST SOVEREIGN HEAD AND PATRON OF THE ORDER,
who granted the Charter in 1888.

expect to survive by finding some means of justifying its existence. The first hopes of the Order naturally centred upon the recovery of Malta and the resumption of their ancient roll as the protectors of Europe against the Barbary Corsairs. When the British occupation of Malta rendered its recovery impossible they looked for compensation elsewhere. But the bombardment of Algiers by Lord Exmouth in 1816 and the French occupation of that town in 1830 put an end to the Barbary Corsairs, and the Mediterranean coasts no longer needed the protection of the Knights of St. John. Their ceaseless warfare against the infidel was ended for ever. For a moment in 1850 military duties of another kind were under consideration, and there was a suggestion that they should undertake the guardianship of the Papal States and the protection of the Pope, a suggestion that was without result. But the Knights had always had a dual roll to perform, they were not only engaged "in the defence of the Catholic Faith," but also "in the service of the poor." Throughout their long history their great and famous Hospital, from which the name and origin of the Order is derived, had always been one of their first considerations, and it became increasingly evident that in the development of that side of their duties the future of the Order lay. The Convent had moved from Catania to Ferrara in 1826, and in 1834 to Rome, where it has ever since remained. There in the eternal city the Knights of St. John, remembering their ancient rule that they should "adorn their Knighthood with a true charity, the mother and solid foundation of all virtues," devoted themselves to the service of the poor and the relief of human suffering with the same selfless zeal that they had shown in the past to the age-long fight for Christianity against Islam. There in the eternal city their work and influence in the world became gradually more and more important, their shattered organisation was slowly restored and reconstructed to meet the requirements of a new age, until at last the long Lieutenancy drew to a close. The sovereign religious and military Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem—the oldest Order of chivalry in the world—by its Hospitals, its manifold charities, and its ambulance work in war, had regained the

esteem and admiration of Christendom, and in 1879 Pope Leo XIII restored the Grand Mastership in the person of Count John Baptist Ceschi di Santa Croce, then Lieutenant-Master. The new Grand Master ruled from his palace at Rome over an Order greatly changed in outward form, but it still retained the Grand Priories of Rome, Sicily and Bohemia, to which the Emperor Ferdinand in 1841 had added the Grand Priory of Lombardo-Venetia, whilst in other countries the ancient Tongues were represented by Associations of Knights. The Grand Master died in 1905, and was succeeded in his high office by Prince Galeazzo de Thun-Hohenstein,* Commander of Maidelberg.

Meanwhile on the downfall of the French Empire and the restoration of the House of Bourbon the remnants of the three dormant Tongues of Provence, Auvergne and France suddenly sprang into activity. In 1814 the French Knights held a Chapter-General in Paris under the presidency of Prince Camille de Rohan, Grand Prior of Aquitaine, to consider the future of the Order, and elected a permanent Capitular Commission with full powers not only to deal with the internal affairs of the French Tongues, but also to regulate the political, civil and financial affairs of the Order as a whole. The action taken was in theory highly irregular, since nominally all legitimate authority was vested in the Lieutenant-Master and Council at Catania. But in practice it was the only possible course to take if the interests of the Order were to be effectively represented at the Congress of Vienna. The German and Anglo-Bavarian Tongues had practically disappeared during the period of chaos that followed the loss of Malta, the Tongues of Aragon and Castile had been annexed to the crown of Spain, whilst the little body of Knights constituting the Convent was entirely devoid of influence in the councils of Europe. The French Capitular Commission was in reality the only body capable of taking any effective action. This was so evident that the proceedings of the

* He was born at Trento, in Austria, September 24th, 1850: received as a Knight of Justice in the Grand Priory of Bohemia and Austria June 8th, 1875: appointed Commander of Maidelburg May 1st, 1892: elected Grand Master March 8th, 1905.

French Knights were regularised by a papal bull of August 10th, 1814, in which the Lieutenant-Master concurred two months later.

With its authority thus confirmed and strengthened the Capitular Commission was able to lay down the policy to be pursued by the Order and to carry on negotiations in its name. At the Congress of Vienna in 1814 it was engaged in pressing the claims of the Order to the cession of an island in the Mediterranean as compensation for the loss of Malta, and again in 1822 at the Congress of Verona. But all these efforts to obtain compensation met only with disappointment and failure. Meanwhile the Greek War of Independence had broken out in 1821, and the successes of the Greeks, and above all their naval victories, began to inspire certain Knights with the hope of recovering their old home at Rhodes. Accordingly in 1823 the Capitular Commission concluded a treaty with the insurgent Greeks by which the islands of Sapienza and Cabrera on the western coast of the Morea were ceded to the Order as a first step towards the reconquest of Rhodes, whilst attempts were made to float a loan in England for this purpose. The treaty did not meet with the approval of the great Powers, and fell to the ground, but it had this important result that in the desire to obtain English support for their schemes the Capitular Commission decided upon the revival of the Venerable Tongue of England.

The recent proceedings of the Capitular Commission had not however met with the approval of the Convent at Catania. The Lieutenant-Master Andrew di Giovanni was now dead, and in 1824 his successor, Anthony Busca, Bailiff of Armenia, revoked the powers granted by his predecessor and peremptorily ordered the immediate dissolution of the Commission. But that body still remained the only part of the Order with any real influence in affairs, and it was not prepared to surrender the wide powers that had been granted to it ten years before. The three French Tongues now under the protection of Louis XVIII regarded themselves as the only body of Knights who could any longer seriously claim to be really representative of the Order of St. John. Their policy which had at first been directed by the Abbé Césarini had now been for some time controlled by the

Grand Chancellor, the Marquis de St. Croix Molay. He was, Count de Chastelain states* a man of great ability and energy, who never ceased working with untiring zeal for the restoration of the Order, to which his death was a great loss. The Grand Chancellor had embarked upon a clearly defined, well thought out policy that he believed would result in a restoration of the Order to something like its old position in Europe, and he was not prepared to see his plans brought to nought by the intervention of a Lieutenant-Master whose authority was at that time little more than nominal. Accordingly the Capitular Commission declined to admit the right of the Lieutenant-Master to withdraw their powers, which they claimed were constituted in accordance with the Statutes and under the spiritual authority of the Pope by virtue of the papal bull of August 10th, 1814, and the Marquis de St. Croix Molay proceeded with his plans, of which one of the most essential parts was the revival of the Tongue of England, to whose future support and assistance the three French Tongues attached the highest importance.

Any question of reviving the Order of St. John in England was of course accompanied from the first by one very serious difficulty, that of religion. But it was obvious that if the revival of the Order was to be a success the fact would have to be faced that the country was predominantly Protestant. There were however two precedents for the existence of non-Catholic bodies within the Order, namely the Protestant Bailiwick of Brandenburg and the Greek Grand Priory of Russia. Accordingly in his detailed letter of instructions of September 14th, 1827, for the revival of the Tongue of England, the Grand Chancellor laid down that candidates might be admitted and received according to the mode and form used by the Bailiwick of the reformed religion, but that the Catholic Brothers of the Grand Priory of Ireland would be required to follow the Statutes in their entirety. In this same letter the Chevalier Philip de Chastelain was confirmed as Delegate of the Mastership on the Provincial Council of the Tongue. It was not until the autumn of 1830 that a Committee was finally formed for giving effect

* In a letter to Sir Edmund Lechmere dated 25th Feb., 1872.

to these instructions, and on January 29th, 1831, in the presence of the French delegate Philip de Chastelain and of the Agent-General of the French Tongues, the Rev. Sir Robert Peat was elected Prior *ad interim* of the Venerable Tongue of England, "which office he accepted, and was accordingly with due formality inaugurated into the office of Prior and invested with its high and eminent functions." Three years later, on February 24th, 1834, in order publicly to emphasise his claim to the office of Prior, and in the hope of reviving the Charter of Queen Mary, Sir Robert Peat took the oath "*de fideli administratione*" in the Court of King's Bench before the Lord Chief Justice of England. Sir Robert Peat died in 1837, and in the following year Sir Henry Dymoke was elected Grand Prior of England in his place.

In the very year that Sir Robert Peat died difficulties began to manifest themselves, ominous for the future. In 1837 the diplomas of brethren received into the Tongue of England were transmitted to Paris for ratification, and the reply came back that diplomas or bulls of the Grand Mastery could only be accorded to Protestants by virtue of a special dispensation for each candidate. It had always been distinctly understood that receptions in the Tongue of England would receive the same treatment as those in the Protestant Bailiwick of Brandenburg and the Greek Grand Priory of Russia had formerly received. But circumstances had now completely changed, the moving spirit in the revival of the English Tongue the Marquis de St. Croix Molay was dead, the French Capitular Commission had been abolished, and the Tongues of Provence, Auvergne and France had now returned to their obedience. The significance of the new attitude could not be mistaken. Whilst the delicate question of the legitimacy of the French action in reviving the Tongue of England was left in abeyance, it was clear that the possibility of another non-Catholic branch of the Order was not viewed with sympathy. For some years indirect negotiations on the subject continued, until in 1843 Prince de Candida, then Lieutenant-Master, laid down that the Statutes would prevent him from admitting to the Order any but Roman Catholics, and

negotiations then dropped. The question could scarcely have been left in a more unsatisfactory condition, and in 1858 it was decided to bring matters definitely to a head. But circumstances were now more unfavourable than ever; the downfall of the French Monarchy in 1848 had resulted in the virtual extinction of the Tongues of Provence, Auvergne and France, which had always preserved the most cordial relations with their offspring, the revived Tongue of England, and the authorities at Rome finally refused to recognise the legitimacy of the French action in reviving the English Tongue.

The year 1858 is the turning point in the history of the modern Order in England, and must always remain one of its great historic landmarks. Until then it had regarded the Lieutenant-Master at Rome as its immediate superior, it had been without any national policy of its own, seeking only to conform to the general policy of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem. From now onwards it becomes a purely national Order, having a distinct policy of its own, and looking up to its own Sovereign as its natural head. The nature and position of the Order in England had already been defined in the famous Nine Declaratory Resolutions published on St. John's Day, 1841, which became the corner-stone of its constitution, and it now proclaimed itself an independent body, appointed a Capitular Commission to manage its affairs, and assumed the title of "The Sovereign and Illustrious Order of St. John of Jerusalem: Angliâ." Following the example of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg, which had been restored in 1853, it stated that its head was the Master of the Order in the British Empire, but no such appointment was ever made. These arrangements were however purely provisional, and the new constitution assumed its final form in 1871, differing very little from that of the present day. The Order now styled itself simply "The Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England," and declared the Prior,* no longer styled Grand Prior, to be its head. The Capitular Commission was abolished,

* In 1875 the Prior was given the title of Lord Prior, and the number of Honorary Bailiffs was fixed at eight, and the number of Honorary Commanders at fifteen.

and so also were the purely titular dignities of Grand Prior of Ireland and Prior of Scotland. An interesting change was also made in the insignia: up to this time the badge had been the white Maltese cross surmounted by a sovereign crown and embellished with lions and unicorns, whilst the star had been without the embellishment. In 1871 the embellishment was removed from the badge also.

So far the Order of St. John had succeeded in re-establishing itself in England and in reviving certain of its ancient dignities. It had shown that its guiding principle was that spirit of charity which was to be the inspiration of all its future work. But as yet it had done little to establish itself as one of the great national institutions. It was not at first clear how best to give practical expression to the ideals with which the Order was inspired, or to discover the channels in which its zeal and energy could best be utilised for the benefit of suffering humanity. The work of adapting it to the requirements of the age, and of establishing it firmly as one of the greatest institutions in the land, was accomplished during the long period of office of the Duke of Manchester. Elected Grand Prior of England in 1861, he continued to direct the destinies of the Order for no less than 27 years, during which period he was so ably assisted by Sir Edmund Lechmere, who for 22 years was Secretary-General. The entire period was one of rapid advancement and progress, during which the whole of the modern activities of the Order were originated and moulded into shape. Besides its work in time of war and those countless minor activities which can scarcely be enumerated, the Life Saving Medal was instituted in 1874, the St. John Ambulance Association was formed in 1878, out of which sprang the St. John Ambulance Brigade ten years later, and the Hospital at Jerusalem was established in 1882.

To this same period belongs the acquisition of all that was left of the old Priory at Clerkenwell, the possession of which has been a veritable inspiration to the modern Order. After its confiscation by Queen Elizabeth in 1559 the Priory had become the headquarters of the drama, Edmund Tylney, the Master of the Revels, residing there. It afterwards passed to Lord Burleigh,

descending by marriage to Lord Aylesbury. By the beginning of the 18th century most of the Priory buildings had disappeared except the Chancel of the Church and the Gate House. The Church had been blown up by the Protector Somerset in 1549, but the Chancel had remained, ultimately becoming the Parish Church. The gift of the living was obtained by the Order, which uses the Chapel in the Crypt dedicated to St. John Almoner as its Communion Chapel, and there places its memorial tablets to deceased brethren. The Gate House was used as a printing office in the 18th century, then as the Parish Watch House, afterwards becoming an inn known as "The Old Jerusalem Tavern," where the Chapter-General met for the first time in 1858. The freehold was purchased by Sir Edmund Lechmere in 1874 and afterwards transferred to the Order, which began to use the Western Tower in that year, but it was not until 1887 that it was able to enter into complete possession.

Re-established in all that was left of their ancient home, and universally respected and esteemed for their charitable and beneficent activities, the Knights of St. John were at last to receive their recognition and reward in the Royal Charter granted by Queen Victoria. Their charitable labours had first attracted Royal attention in the year 1876, when H.R.H. the Princess of Wales, now H.M. Queen Alexandra, was graciously pleased to become a Lady of the Order. From that date it received the support and countenance of almost every member of the Royal Family, several of whom were formally received into its ranks. At last in the year 1888 H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, on behalf of the Prior and brethren of the Order, presented to H.M. Queen Victoria their humble petition that she would be graciously pleased to grant them her Royal Charter of Incorporation, and on May 14th in that year the Charter* received the royal assent.

* This second great landmark in the history of the modern Order is commemorated by a change in the insignia. The national embellishment abolished in 1871 was now restored both to the badge and star, and from the former the sovereign crown was removed, but the badge of the Grand Prior is surmounted by the Imperial Crown, that of the Sub-Prior by a Coronet, and those of Bishops by Mitres,



*By permission of the Fine Arts Publishing Co., Ltd.,
from a painting by Harold Speed at St. John's Gate.*

H.R.H. ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, K.G.

GRAND PRIOR OF ENGLAND, 1888-1901.

Under its terms the Order was given its ancient style and title of "The Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England," the Queen became its Sovereign Head and Patron, and the Prince of Wales its Grand Prior. A supplementary Charter was granted by King Edward VII in 1907, authorising the Grand Prior to establish Priories in any part of the Empire he might think fit, and under the terms of this Charter the Priory for Wales was instituted in 1918.

The installation of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales as Grand Prior of England took place at St. John's Gate in August, 1888, and at the same time his eldest son, H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, entered upon office as Sub-Prior of the Order. On the lamented death of the Sub-Prior in 1892 he was succeeded in that office by his brother, H.R.H. the Duke of York. The loss that the Order had sustained by the decease of its Sub-Prior was commemorated by a tablet of arms placed upon the City face of the archway at St. John's Gate. On the death of Queen Victoria in 1901 the Sub-Prior, now Prince of Wales, became Grand Prior of England, and in 1910 he was succeeded in that high office by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, who had been received in the Order as a Knight of Justice in 1881, had been one of the signatories of the petition for the Charter, and had been Bailiff of Egle since 1894. Under the administration of its three Royal Grand Priors the history of the Order of St. John in England has been one of constant progress and prosperity, its numbers always expanding, its utility to humanity continually increasing, until in the Great War its ambulances were to be seen on every front and its hospitals were famous throughout the armies. The modern Knights of St. John have tried, not unsuccessfully, to follow in the footsteps of their brethren of old, always remembering the ancient Rule and Custom of their Order "that the Knights who should make their profession in it should adorn their Knighthood with a true Charity, the mother and solid foundation of all virtues."

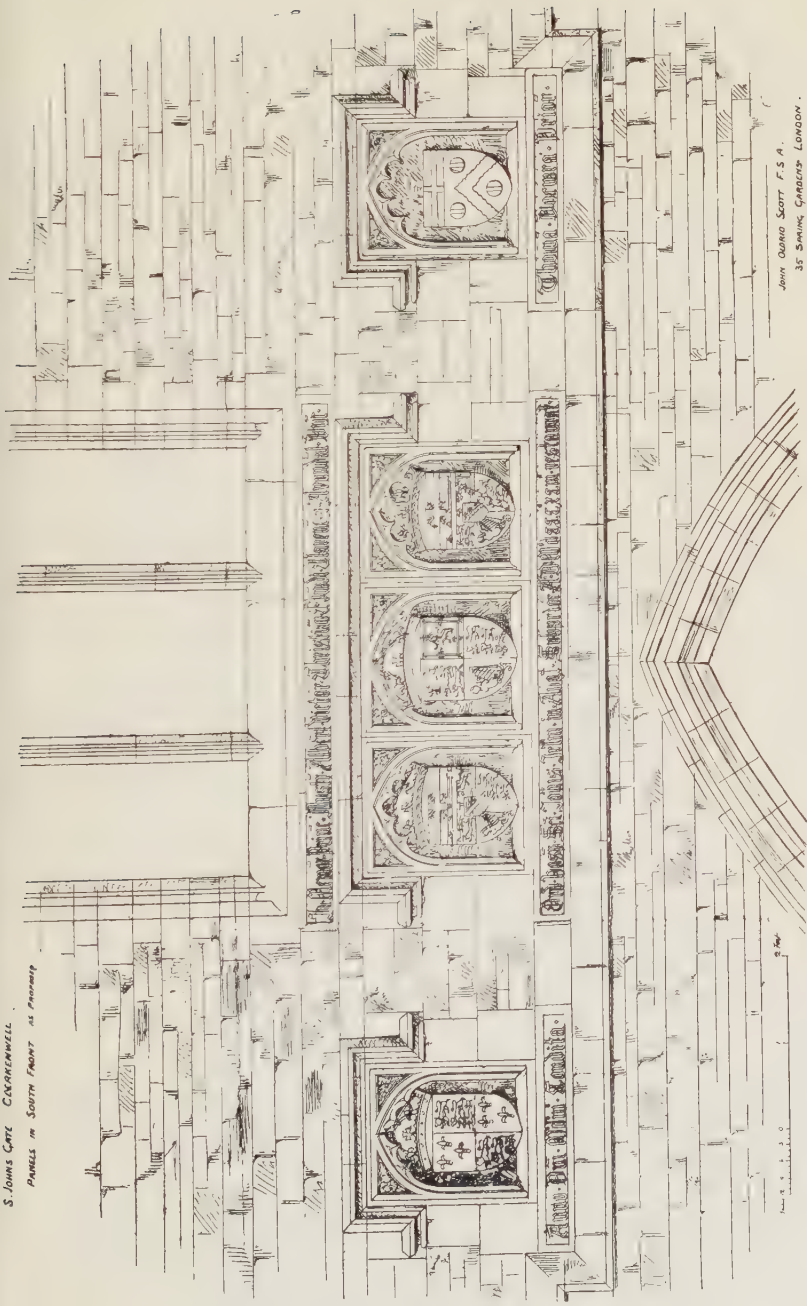
CHAPTER XII.

THE HOSPITAL, AT JERUSALEM.

FROM the days when the Order of St. John was first re-established in England the eyes of the brethren were constantly directed towards Jerusalem, in the hope that they might find some practical means of definitely associating the revived Grand Priory with the Holy City, the original home of their Venerable Order. Their pious hopes first took definite shape in 1876, when Sir Edmund Lechmere, then Secretary-General, made a formal request to the British Minister at Constantinople on behalf of the Order, asking that the Turkish Government would grant a site in Jerusalem for the erection of a Hospital. Much delay was caused owing to the site originally desired not being available, and eventually the deep longing of the Order to establish itself in Jerusalem was brought to the notice of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. He at once expressed a wish to aid in promoting its success, and conveyed through the Turkish Ambassador his personal request that a site might be granted. In consequence a memorandum explaining the wishes of the Order was transmitted to Musurus Pasha. A year later on April 24th 1882 the Sultan's Firman was published, addressed to Raouf Pasha, Governor of Jerusalem, directing him to provide the necessary site on the same conditions as those under which a similar grant had been made to the Bailiwick of Brandenburg. The property thus acquired by the Order was situated on the Bethlehem Road, not far from the Jaffa Gate, overlooking the Valley of Hinnom.

The Knights of St. John had already decided that their Hospital should be devoted to Ophthalmia and those other

S. JOHN'S CHURCH CIRENCEWORTH.
 PANELS IN SOUTH FRONT AS DRAWING.



JOHN QUARRO SCOTT F.S.A.
 35 SWEING CAROLIS LONDON.

From a drawing by John Oldrid Scott, F.S.A.

MEMORIAL TO H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE AND AVONDALF, K.G.

SUB-PRIOR OF THE ORDER IN ENGLAND, 1888-1892.

diseases of the eye which infest the countries of the East, and it was well known that Jerusalem had great need of such an institution. But since their own funds unaided were insufficient for such a work, it was resolved to appeal to their countrymen for support, now that the necessary grant of land had been obtained. Accordingly on July 7th, 1882, a meeting was held in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey under the presidency of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and there the proposals of the Order were cordially approved and recommended to the support of the public. As a result of the sympathy and help evoked by this meeting, and the generosity of Lady Lechmere, it was possible to begin the work. In November, 1882, Dr. J. C. Waddell, who had been selected as Medical Officer, left for Jerusalem with a supply of medical stores, and at once opened a temporary Hospital until such time as the permanent buildings should be ready. Within six months he was able to report that the number of patients had been 1,952, that the total number of those who had received advice and medicine was 6,138, and that on many days no less than 140 patients were in attendance. So much was the work appreciated by the Turkish authorities that the Hospital was granted the privilege of importing medical stores free of duty, a privilege which it still retains.

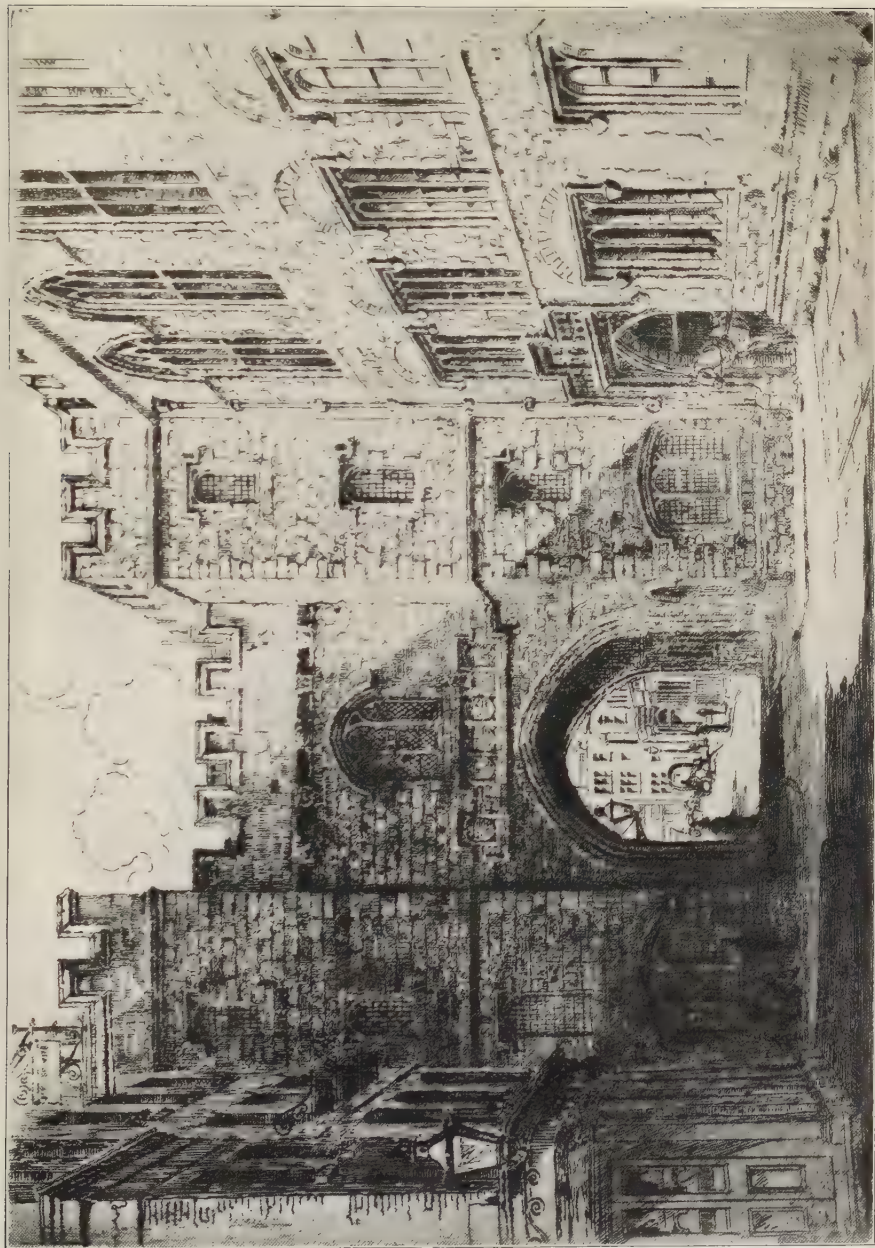
Regulations for the management of the Hospital were drawn up by the Order in 1883, and it was laid down that the immediate control should be entrusted to a local committee, but that the general management of its affairs should be directed by a committee, meeting at St. John's Gate. As the institution was intended only for the poor, it was also laid down that patients in a position to contribute to its funds should be required to do so, at the discretion of the medical officer and local committee. Meanwhile, Dr. Waddell after six months' work had broken down badly in health and was compelled to return to England. He was succeeded by Mr. J. H. Ogilvie, who at the end of three and a half years was able to report that 10,000 patients had been treated and that the consultations had been nearly 58,000 in number. In November, 1886, Sir Edmund

and Lady Lechmere paid a visit of inspection to the Hospital, and there they received ceremonial visits from Raouf Pasha, the Governor, the Orthodox Patriarch, the Armenian Patriarch and the Chief Rabbi, to express their appreciation and gratitude for the good work that was being done. The visitors were much impressed by the extraordinary distances that patients had travelled in order to obtain the advice of the Hospital. It was evident that the institution was now firmly established, and in terminating the report on his visit Sir Edmund Lechmere used words that may well be placed on record.* "And may not we of the Order of St. John venture to hope that as the work of our original founders commenced with a Hospital at Jerusalem, and became in time one of the greatest institutions in Christendom, so the Langu of England, which has once more resumed its connection with the earliest home of the Order, may receive an additional blessing from its philanthropic labours."

Mr. J. H. Ogilvie was succeeded in 1889 by Dr. W. E. Cant, who for nearly 23 years remained in charge of the Hospital. The devoted work that he did during that period cannot be over-estimated, and is best described in the words of one† who was closely acquainted with it: "To his skill and labours, coupled with the almost incredible energy of Mrs. Cant, the Hospital owes more than can be conveyed by mere words." The patients were drawn for the most part from two classes, Jews chiefly from Jerusalem itself, and Arabs and Fellaheen from the towns and villages of Palestine. But many other races, too, were represented, for Jerusalem is filled with pilgrims from the uttermost parts of the earth, and every year representatives of twenty or thirty different nationalities passed through the Hospital. Year by year the number of patients was continually increasing and the fame of the institution spread far and wide, until in the hope of being saved from the

* Bedford and Holbeche, pp. 157, 158.

† The late Mr. W. R. Edwards, O.B.E., Knight of Grace and Secretary of the Order.



ST. JOHN'S GATE FROM THE SOUTH.

From an etching by W. Monk, R.E.

By kind permission of the Artist.

horror of blindness men were journeying to it on foot from the furthestmost parts of Syria and Persia. So great were the number of applicants for relief that even in 1890 the doors had to be closed soon after daybreak each day, and sometimes many hundreds were turned away owing to lack of accommodation and surgical assistance. In that year two nurses were sent out from England, and three years later an assistant surgeon was appointed to deal with the overwhelming pressure of work, whilst a new out-patient block was built in memory of General Gordon, generously helped by Miss Wilson, Sir Edmund Lechmere and Mr. John A. Cook. But ever the number of applicants for relief grew greater and greater. By 1897 the custom was definitely adopted on out-patient days of opening the doors early in the morning and then closing them for the day as soon as sufficient patients had been admitted to keep the staff fully occupied. As soon as this was realised the crowds of suffering humanity began to assemble earlier and earlier in the morning, until they were collected outside the doors of the Hospital long before night was over in the hope of gaining admission.

Such was the work that the Knights of St. John were able to accomplish in the Holy City, the first home of their Order. They had shown that the same spirit was with them that had inspired those Knights of old who, when they were receiving a new brother into their Order used the formula, "We own you for a servant of the gentlemen that are poor and sick." So impressed was H.M. Queen Victoria, the Sovereign Head and Patron of the Order, with the work that it was accomplishing that in the year 1897, in token of her appreciation, she was graciously pleased to present her portrait to the Hospital. Only a few years later the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem in a letter* written in 1901 stated: "It is doing excellent work, and it is known and trusted throughout the country, and even to Moab and the trans-Jordan country. It is known far and wide as the work of charity and philanthropy by men who do the work for the sake of Christ." And in speaking of Dr. Cant, the Bishop

* See Bedford and Holbeche, p. 161.

says, "his name is one of note here." For ten more years Dr. Cant remained in charge at Jerusalem until his retirement in April, 1911, after nearly a quarter of a century of devoted work. He was succeeded by Mr. W. Ward, who died shortly after, and thereupon Dr. Cant once more returned to his old post until he was finally relieved in October of that year by Mr. D. Heron, who remained in charge until the Hospital was closed on September 25th, 1914, owing to the hostile attitude of the Turks, then about to join in the Great War. The real value of the work that had been done by the Order at Jerusalem during the previous 32 years is very clearly shown by the statistics.*

The Hospital was not left unmolested for long, and in December, 1914, was taken over by the Turks, in spite of the fact that it had been left in charge of a Syrian who was married to a German. Being very short of hospital supplies the Turkish authorities stripped it of almost everything that it contained, and then in January, 1915, turned it into an ammunition depot. It was used for this purpose throughout the war, and when Lord Allenby made his victorious advance on Jerusalem in December, 1917, the Turks blew up the Hospital before evacuating the city. The British advanced troops were in such close contact that some of the leading men were nearly killed by the explosion. Fortunately the building was not completely destroyed, the central part received the most damage, though no part entirely escaped. However the Hospital still remained, badly damaged though it was, and when Sir Courtauld Thomson, the Chairman of the Committee, visited Jerusalem later he was able to recom-

* COMPARATIVE STATISTICS.

Year	In-Patients.	Out-Patients.	Consultations, Total.	Operations.
1886	121	3,238	13,426	231
1890	286	3,305	9,178	494
1900	630	5,422	19,329	1,256
1910	1,053	10,832	42,593	1,879
1913	1,262	9,604	31,967	2,542
1883 to 1914	19,151	179,900	633,211	36,156

The years shown are typical and not abnormal.

mend the Order to take immediate steps for its restoration and at the same time to carry out certain necessary improvements. Accordingly the rebuilding was put in hand and every effort made to re-open the Hospital and begin work as soon as possible. Whilst the work was in progress H.R.H. the Grand Prior visited Jerusalem and manifested the greatest interest in the restoration. A provisional local Committee, of which Brigadier-General Storrs, the Military Governor of Jerusalem, was chairman, and Dr. Granville vice-chairman, had been appointed to supervise matters, and the Hospital was able to be re-opened for out-patients only eleven months after its partial destruction, in spite of the abnormal conditions prevailing in the country after four years of war.

The opening ceremony was performed by Lord Allenby on February 26th, 1919, the Chairman of the Hospital Committee representing the Order on this historic occasion. Every nationality, creed and institution was represented. Lord Allenby in declaring the Hospital open paid a graceful compliment to Sir Courtauld Thomson for his untiring work in connection with the restoration, and announced that he was commanded by H.R.H. the Grand Prior to invest General Storrs and Colonel Gardner as Knights of Grace of the Order. The following telegram was then read by the Chairman amid great enthusiasm : " I rejoice at the re-opening of our Hospital in Jerusalem, and I trust it will be able in the future to continue the good work it has done in the past.—CONNAUGHT."

The Hospital had been open to out-patients since November 11th, 1918, and on June 30th, 1919, it was able to receive the first in-patients, who came under the care of Lt.-Col. J. C. Strathearn, O.B.E., recently appointed Surgeon-in-Charge. Previous to this appointment the Hospital had been in the care of surgeons lent by the Medical Administration—first Captain Gowans, and after his departure Captain Findlater. By the end of 1919 it was possible to say that very nearly as much work was being done as before the war. But there was a considerable falling off in the number of out-patients, partly owing to the disturbed state of the country and partly owing to the fact that the Order's

Hospital was no longer the only eye hospital in Jerusalem. During 1920 the staff was completed by the appointment of Captain R. Eyre as Assistant-Surgeon, and the work was increasing so rapidly that it was evident that before long additional accommodation would be required. Major-General Sir Thomas Yarr, K.C.M.G., C.B., Inspector of Medical Services, and a Knight of Grace of the Order, who visited the Hospital on August 30th reported* :—" I was very much impressed with the cleanliness and good order and efficiency of our Hospital, but to maintain its efficiency funds must be largely increased. If the Hospital is to be in the future what it was in the past, the best staffed and the best equipped Eye Hospital in the East, this question of cost must be resolutely faced. I was particularly struck by the splendid work done in the Out-Patients' Department." During the year His Majesty the King, to the great satisfaction of the staff and patients of the Hospital, was graciously pleased to present a signed portrait of himself, together with portraits of their late Majesties Queen Victoria and King Edward VII, to replace those destroyed by the Turks.

In the year 1921 it was decided by Chapter-General that the Christian staff of the Hospital, so long as they continued to act in that capacity, should be members of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in the grade of Serving Brothers and Serving Sisters. It was also decided that the Superintendent of the Hospital should in future be known as the Warden, the second surgeon as the Sub-Warden, and the third the Registrar. This change in status was made the occasion of a public ceremony on June 26th, 1922, when Lt.-Col. J. T. Woolrych Perowne, a Knight of Grace of the Order and Hon. Secretary of the Hospital Committee, acting under commission from H.R.H. the Grand Prior, first of all admitted the British staff as Serving Brothers and Sisters, and two of the Syrian staff as honorary of that grade, and then proceeded to invest the Warden and Sub-Warden with the insignia mantle and cap of their newly created offices.

During 1923 a Memorial was placed in the Hospital to record

* Report of Chapter-General, 31st December, 1920, p. 19.



Lt. Col. J. T. Woodrugh Penane, photo.

THE HOSPITAL AT JERUSALEM.

its re-opening and re-equipment. The tablet was formally unveiled with all due ceremony by Mrs. Storrs, wife of the Governor of Jerusalem, on August 20th before a large gathering including the Acting High Commissioner and Lady Clayton. The tablet, which is affixed to the wall in the small entrance court and faces the main door, bears the following inscription :—

“ The Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England to commemorate the restoration and complete re-equipment of this Hospital after its partial destruction by the retreating Turkish army in December 1917 caused this tablet to be erected which also records the names of the following pious benefactors who prior to the war had helped to endow the Hospital with the means necessary to carry on the work of the Order in the Holy Land :

Sir Edmund Lechmere Baronet and Dame Katherine his wife William Baron Amherst of Hackney Charles William Bartholomew ; John M. Cook ; Esther du Bois ; Emily du Pre ; William Allen Jamieson, M.D. ; John Martineau and Jane Wilson.

The Hospital which was closed in September A.D. 1914, was re-opened by Field-Marshal the Viscount Allenby G.C.B., a Knight of Grace of the Order on February 26th, A.D. 1919. Field-Marshal H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., Grand Prior, Colonel Sir Courtauld Thomson K.B.E. Chairman of the Committee, Lt.-Col. J. T. Woolrych Perowne V.D., Hon. Secretary. A.D. 1923.”

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS SINCE THE WAR.

Year.	In-Patients.	Out-Patients :		Operations.
		New.	Total.	
1920	1,248	8,898	26,001	2,538
1921	1,312	12,100	62,237	3,001
1922	1,268	12,651	57,848	2,859
1923	1,524	14,777	60,947	4,169

THE SULTAN'S FIRMAN.

To Raouf Pasha, my Noble Governor of the Sandjak of Jerusalem, bearer of my Imperial Orders of the Medjidie of the Second Class and of the Osmanieh of the Fourth Class.

On the arrival of my Imperial Emblem be it known to you that the British Embassy has reported and requested as follows :

The Prince of Wales, son of the Queen of England, manifested the wish that my Imperial Government should be pleased to concede as a gift a piece of ground of ten thousand square zirae approximately, for the establishment by the English members of the Society of St. John at Jerusalem of a Hospice and a place for tending gratuitously poor invalids.

Such an establishment being one of public utility, it was decided in my council of Ministers that a piece of ground of the extent required should be granted in the same manner and under the same conditions as the one which was previously granted to the Prince of Prussia for the foundation of a similar establishment by the German branch of the same Society, and at a place free of all local objections ; upon this my Imperial sanction having been besought, I was pleased to grant it and to convey it through this my noble Firman emanating from my Imperial Divan, and delivered to whom it may concern.

You therefore, who are the above-mentioned Governor, have to provide for the required piece of ground of ten thousand zirae approximately, and one which may not give rise to local objections, and to show and offer the said ground to the afore-said English Society, while taking care that it should be employed in the manner and under conditions identical to those under which the grant of such a piece of ground to the German branch of the Society was previously made.

1299 Djemazil Lakhir 5 (24th April, 1882).

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE BRIGADE.

THE object for which the Order of St. John of Jerusalem was originally founded was the relief of human suffering, and throughout its long history that object has never been forgotten, however prominent its military duties may have become. And now that it is no longer necessary for the Knights of St. John to fight in defence of the Christian faith, the relief of human suffering has become once more their sole object. In no direction have the efforts of the Knights of St. John in England to fulfil their duties been more conspicuous to the general public than in the work of their Ambulance Department, acting through the St. John Ambulance Association and its off-shoot the St. John Ambulance Brigade. In 1869 the Order of St. John had been represented at the International Conference of Red Cross Societies held in Berlin, and during the Franco-Prussian War, which broke out in the following year, many members of the Order enrolled themselves in the newly formed British National Aid (or Red Cross) Society, and served throughout the campaign. The experience of the war proved that Red Cross Societies could only hope to perform their duties with real efficiency if they were properly trained and organised in time of peace, an opinion that was confirmed by the further experience gained in the War in the East in 1876.

The more the question was considered of how best to develop an organisation fitted to render efficient aid to the sick and

wounded in war, the more clearly it was realised that there was equal need for such an organisation capable of dealing with the accidents of civil life. It was also no less clear that if an efficient organisation existed for the normal requirements of civil life, there would be no serious difficulty in adapting it to the needs of war. As early as 1872 the Order of St. John was working to establish an ambulance service in the mining and pottery districts, where accidents were frequent and no organisation existed for dealing with them. In 1874 Surgeon-General Laymon, C.B., gave an address to the General Assembly of the Order on the best methods of dealing with the accidents and mutilations occurring in mines and in establishments where many workpeople are employed. Three years later the St. John Ambulance Association came into existence, having as its object the dissemination of knowledge as to the preliminary treatment of sick and injured persons, and thus to lessen the needless suffering so frequently caused by ignorance. The first centre of instruction was formed at Woolwich, and was quickly followed by a Metropolitan centre and the establishment of centres at Sevenoaks, Maidstone, Worcester, Malvern and Southampton. In 1878 the St. John Ambulance Association was organised under the Ambulance Department of the Order, and rapid progress took place, especially amongst the Derbyshire and Nottingham miners and the Metropolitan Police. From the enthusiastic support that the Association received in every quarter it was evident that it was engaged in work the need for which was widely felt, and amongst its warmest supporters were the great Railway Companies. By the year 1881 there were no less than 381 classes under instruction, including 15,240 members, and within a few more years the Association had extended its influence into every part of England, until at the present day the whole country is covered with a network of its instructional centres.

The course of instruction in First Aid generally given consisted of five lectures, followed by an examination, and certificates were awarded to those who satisfied the examiners. But although the doctors giving the lectures usually extended them

beyond the specified number, there was such a demand for further instruction that the formation of advanced classes became general, at the end of which a second examination was held and a superior certificate given. It was however soon realised that a large proportion of those receiving instruction quickly forgot all that they had learnt from want of practice. And so it was resolved to provide facilities for the holders of certificates to be re-examined twelve months after their first examination. In order to encourage them to maintain their efficiency it was afterwards decided that those who had twice undergone re-examination, at intervals of not less than twelve months, should be eligible to receive a medallion. The immense value of the work done in the country by the St. John Ambulance Association is clearly revealed by the fact that down to 1923 no less than 1,548,239 certificates had been issued and 255,000 medallions.

The fame of the work done by the Ambulance Department of the Order of St. John soon spread far and wide, and it was not long before centres of instruction in First Aid were formed on the English model in India and most of the Dominions and Colonies. But it was not only in the British Empire that the influence of the English Knights of St. John was felt, but even Germany, with her great organising ability, was glad to take their work as her model. In 1881 Professor Von Esmarch, an Honorary Associate of the Order, formed a committee in Germany for the purpose of establishing an Ambulance Association in that country similar to that established by the Knights of St. John in England. Mr. John Furley, Knight of Justice of the Order and Director of its Ambulance Department, to whose devoted work its success had been largely due, was specially invited to attend the meeting of the provisional committee at Kiel. As a result of that meeting the German Association, called the "Deutscher Samariter-Verein," came into existence under the patronage of the Empress, and soon extended its operations all over Germany. Similar associations were formed in Russia, the United States and many other countries, based almost entirely upon the English model.

The plans of the Ambulance Department of the Order had been carried out with such brilliant success, and had received such enthusiastic support, that it soon became quite impossible to restrain them to the channel originally designed for them. The desire to utilise in some practical form the knowledge gained resulted in the gradual development of new organisations not originally contemplated. It was early found necessary to establish a dépôt at St. John's Gate, where all articles required for the First Aid lectures, such as handbooks, anatomical diagrams, bandages, splints, tourniquets and stretchers could be supplied. The importance of this dépôt was continually increasing, until it eventually became the present Stores Department, capable of furnishing anything required from an ambulance to a bandage. The first permanent organisation for giving practical effect to the instruction given by the Ambulance Association was the Invalid Transport Corps. It was formed at St. John's Gate in 1883 for the purpose of transporting sick and injured patients, primarily of the poorer classes, and is now removing nearly 7,000 cases a year. Similar Transport Corps have since been formed in many districts for local requirements, and the value of their work can scarcely be exaggerated. Then came the establishment of Ambulance Stations at the great exhibitions and at other places where large crowds were likely to assemble. These stations were composed entirely of voluntary workers, who gave their services freely in the cause of humanity without the slightest prospect of reward. In 1898 a permanent Ambulance Station, open day and night, was established in the churchyard of St. Clement Danes. It was known as the Duncan Memorial Station, in memory of Colonel Francis Duncan, C.B., M.P., Knight of Justice of the Order, whose devoted services in the initiation and establishment of the St. John Ambulance Association will ever be remembered with gratitude. This station was removed in 1901 to the West India Docks. A similar station was then established at the expense of Dr. Edwin Freshfield, Knight of Justice, under the steps of the West end of St. Paul's Cathedral, by permission of the Dean and Chapter. This station deals with rather more than 1,300 cases a year.



AN INSPECTION OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE BRIGADE.

The result of the work done by the St. John Ambulance Association was that the more enthusiastic of those who passed its examinations began to band themselves together into Ambulance Corps all over the country. It was these Corps which furnished the Ambulance Stations now rapidly becoming a regular feature on all those occasions where great crowds of people gathered together. The experience of the great ceremonies in connection with Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887 showed the absolute necessity for an ambulance organisation in connection with the Metropolitan Police, and the Chief Commissioner gave the greatest encouragement to the efforts made by the newly established Ambulance Corps. In the same year the Ambulance Department of the Order of St. John, taking these Corps as a nucleus, formed that great institution the St. John Ambulance Brigade. The record of the Brigade ever since its formation has been one of continual progress, and it was felt as a great encouragement by all ranks when in May, 1892, Queen Victoria, as a mark of her royal appreciation of the work that was being done, was graciously pleased to review an Ambulance Corps of the Derbyshire and Nottingham miners, numbering 414 of all ranks.

In 1900 the strength of the St. John Ambulance Brigade was 10,500 of all ranks, and ten years later it had increased to a total of 20,140. At the Royal Review of 1912, when their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary personally inspected the Brigade in Windsor Great Park, there were present on parade 14,000 of all ranks, including 3,000 Ambulance Sisters. On the outbreak of the European War the numbers were 25,560, and during the war they rose to a total of 65,390. In the year 1923 the total strength was approximately 36,000 of all ranks, of whom two-thirds are men and one-third women. When it is considered that the St. John Ambulance Brigade is composed entirely of men and women who give their services freely and without hope of reward, its strength is truly remarkable.

The chief objects for which the Brigade exists are the provision of a properly trained body of men and women to render First

Aid to the sick and injured on public occasions, and in time of national emergency to reinforce the medical services of the Naval, Military and Air Forces of the Crown. No one is eligible for enrolment in the Brigade unless already in possession of a First Aid certificate, and in the Nursing Divisions an additional certificate in Home Nursing is also required. The St. John Ambulance Brigade therefore consists exclusively of trained and efficient men and women, and its members include no non-effectives. The Brigade is commanded by the Chief Commissioner, with headquarters at St. John's Gate, assisted by the Surgeon-in-Chief and the Lady Superintendent-in-Chief. It is organised in twelve districts, each consisting of three or more counties, and commanded by a Commissioner, assisted by a District Surgeon and a Lady District Superintendent, the counties being under Assistant Commissioners. No. 1 District, comprising the Metropolitan Police Area, has the additional title of "Prince of Wales's," and its members have the privilege of wearing the Prince of Wales' feathers as their collar badge. The unit in the Brigade is the Ambulance Division of not less than 16 privates and a Divisional Surgeon, with a Divisional Superintendent-in-Charge, or a Nursing Division of not less than 12 Ambulance Sisters and a Divisional Surgeon with a Lady Superintendent-in-Charge. Many of these Divisions are organised in Ambulance Corps, consisting of not less than three units, of which one may be a Nursing Division, and with a minimum strength of 100 privates, towards which in a mixed Corps not more than 25 Ambulance Sisters may count. Each Ambulance Corps is under a Corps Superintendent. In addition to the Ambulance and Nursing Divisions, Cadet Divisions were started in 1922, and now have a total strength of about 600 boys and girls between the ages of eleven and eighteen.

Just as the work of the St. John Ambulance Association at home resulted in the formation of the Ambulance Brigade to give practical effect to its teaching, so also in the Dominions and Colonies beyond the seas similar causes were to produce similar results. New Zealand led the way in the formation of units of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, and the Dunedin Ambulance

Corps was formed in 1892, followed by a Nursing Corps in 1895. In India the St. John Ambulance Association was established on a permanent basis in 1901 owing to the efforts of Lt.-Col. A. C. Yate, a Knight of Justice of the Order, and in 1922 the St. John Ambulance Brigade Overseas, which is administered by a Chief Commissioner of its own, consisted of 210 Ambulance Divisions and 145 Nursing Divisions. The number of units in the various parts of the Empire in that year were as follows :—

	Ambulance Divisions		Nursing Divisions			Ambulance Divisions		Nursing Divisions	
Australia	..	49	50		Ceylon	..	9	2	
Canada	..	40	41		Malta	..	3	1	
New Zealand	..	28	32		Hong Kong	..	2	1	
India	..	45	6		Newfoundland	..	1	0	
South Africa	..	32	12		Gibraltar	..	1	0	

The value of the services rendered to the community by the St. John Ambulance Brigade in normal times is of course self-evident, whilst their value in times of national peril has now been proved in two great wars. During the South African War, 1899-1902, the authorities only made use of the Ambulance Divisions of the Brigade, and they were called upon to supply men for two purposes : either as auxiliaries to the Royal Army Medical Corps, serving directly under the War Office, or else for service in private hospitals equipped under the auspices of the Central British Red Cross Committee. Until the last year of the war all these men were serving under a civil contract as members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade. In all 2,046 men of the Brigade served in South Africa, representing 20 per cent. of its strength. Of this number one man received the Distinguished Conduct Medal and eight were mentioned in despatches. The casualties amounted to 62 men, who died of disease contracted in the performance of their duty. To their memory a beautiful alabaster monument was erected in the Priory Church at Clerkenwell, and was formally unveiled by His Royal Highness the Grand Prior on June 11th, 1902. His Majesty King Edward

VII, as a mark of his royal appreciation of the services rendered by the Brigade, on May 31st, 1902, personally presented the war medal in the throne-room at Buckingham Palace to a strong representative detachment. A special South African War Medal struck in bronze was issued by the Order of St. John to the active service detachments who proceeded to South Africa and for services rendered in connection with their mobilization, and the despatch of ambulance material and medical comforts for the sick and wounded at the seat of war.

The experience of the South African War had caused the authorities to realize what a valuable reserve of highly trained men was contained in the ranks of the St. John Ambulance Brigade. Accordingly in the years that followed the war definite arrangements were made for the enrolment of members of the Brigade in the Medical Reserves of the forces of the Crown. The Admiralty were the first to make use of the services of the Brigade, whose men were enrolled in the Royal Naval Auxiliary Sick Berth Reserve in 1903 up to an establishment of 1,200. Then in 1907 the War Office began to enrol Ambulance men in the Military Home Hospitals Reserve up to an establishment of 2,000, whilst eight Brigade Bearer Companies were also formed who were required on mobilization to enlist in the Royal Army Medical Corps for one year, or for such a period as the company remained mobilized. And so when the Great War broke out in August, 1914, the St. John Ambulance Brigade had certain very definite functions to perform.

On the evening of August 1st orders were received for the mobilization of the Royal Naval Auxiliary Sick Berth Reserves, and within forty-eight hours the men had reported for duty at their respective depôts at Chatham, Devonport and Portsmouth. Then on the 5th orders arrived from the War Office to mobilize the Military Home Hospitals Reserve, and two days later came a further demand for 450 trained men to proceed at once to join the Expeditionary Force R.A.M.C. From the time of mobilization the enrolment of Ambulance men in the Naval and Military Reserves never ceased, and by the 31st December, 1915, the St. John Ambulance Brigade had supplied

the Naval and Military authorities and private hospitals and ships with rather more than 20,000 men.

Royal Naval Auxiliary Sick Berth Reserve	2,164
Royal Naval Division (Medical Unit)	1,248

Total Naval Authorities	3,412
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Military Home Hospitals Reserve	14,397
Royal Army Medical Corps (Expeditionary Force)	1,429
St. John Ambulance Brigade Hospital, Etaples	169

15,995

Joint Committee of the Order of St. John and the Red Cross Society in France	323
For private hospitals at home	170
For private hospitals abroad	158

651

Up to the introduction of the Military Service Acts the St. John Ambulance Brigade had furnished to the Naval and Military authorities 25,000 men, and it is estimated that at least another 25,000 had enlisted direct in the Navy and Army without being mobilized through one of the Brigade Reserves. Such was the part played by the Ambulance Divisions, but the Nursing Divisions of the Brigade were in no way behind them, and the value of the services that they rendered to the State were no less important. They furnished for service in the military hospitals at home and abroad 308 detachments, with a strength of 9,428 officers and nurses. The St. John Ambulance Brigade, however, had not only the duty of supplementing the medical services of the Naval and Military forces of the Crown, it had also to provide for the normal requirements of the civil population at

home. This work was carried out by those members of the Brigade who were over age or otherwise unfit for military service, and they were specially organized for immediate use in the case of air raids. To them also fell the duty of meeting convoys of wounded at the large London Stations and conveying the patients to the General and Auxiliary Hospitals, and their subsequent transfer from one hospital to another. Most of these men and women were serving in a purely voluntary capacity, without the slightest hope of recognition or reward, and day and night throughout the long war they held themselves in constant readiness to meet the calls that were made upon them. By their selfless devotion to duty they proved themselves worthy of the highest traditions of that noble organization to which they were so proud to belong.

Besides the provision of trained reserves for the Naval and Military forces, the St. John Ambulance Brigade on the institution of the Voluntary Aid Scheme in 1909 was called upon by the War Office to provide detachments for service with the Territorial Force at home on mobilization. On the outbreak of war there was no general mobilization of Voluntary Aid Detachments, but throughout the country a certain number were called upon for local service. As the war dragged on so the Brigade was called upon to raise more and more of these detachments, until by its close the St. John Ambulance Brigade had provided 265 men's detachments, with a strength of 14,472, and 705 women's detachments, with a strength of 27,800. Of these over 4,000 women were permanently employed in the Military Hospitals, some giving full time service and others part time only. The men's detachments were chiefly utilized for the transport of sick and wounded from stations to hospitals, and as orderlies in various local hospitals.

In recognition of the services rendered by the St. John Ambulance Brigade during the war, 365 of its members received decorations, many of them for personal gallantry under fire, In addition a large number were mentioned in despatches, and the names of several hundreds were brought to the notice of the Secretary of State for War. The total casualties of the

Brigade on active service were 915* men and women killed in action or died of disease contracted in the course of their duty.

With the end of the war all ranks of the St. John Ambulance Brigade were able once more to resume their normal functions of providing First Aid for the sick and injured on those occasions when great crowds of people are gathered together. Their work is never sensational or conspicuous, but its value is fully realised by those who have passed through their hands, and their reward is in the knowledge that they have done their duty and have helped to make the world a little happier for their services. The members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade are enlisted under the ancient banner of St. John in the service of the poor and the suffering. They have proved themselves worthy successors of those who in a past age enlisted under that same banner to fight for the Christian faith in the East. The Knights of St. John are proud of these modern soldiers of their Venerable Order, who fight in the sacred cause of humanity with the same zeal and patience as their ancestors fought under the Knights of old in defence of the Christian faith, and the members of the Brigade are proud to serve under the venerable banner of the most ancient order of chivalry in Europe, an Order which exists for one purpose only, the relief of human suffering.

* Report of Chapter-General, 1918, p.26.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE WORK OF THE ORDER IN WAR.

THERE is no form of charity to which the Knights of St. John have at all times devoted themselves with greater zeal than to the relief of the suffering and misery caused by war. For at no time are the sick and the poor more helpless in the hands of fate than during those great tragedies which periodically afflict the human race. From the earliest days of the revival of their Order in England the Knights of St. John have always studied with special zeal how best to mitigate those terrible sufferings which result from the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind. In 1869 the Order was represented at the International Congress of Red Cross Societies held in Berlin. During the Franco-Prussian War many of its members enrolled themselves in the British National Aid Society and were actively engaged in the war zone in those works of charity for which their Order exists. But it was during the War in the East, which broke out in 1876, that the Knights of St. John were first able to render assistance on a more extensive scale.

In the July of that year a private meeting of a provisional committee of the Order was held, at which the following resolution was passed: "That there being no organization in existence for giving relief, irrespective of political aim or object, a committee should be formed of members of the Order and others for the purpose of affording such aid as possible to the sufferers in the conflict raging in the East." At this meeting the "Eastern War" Sick and Wounded Relief Fund was formed, which was afterwards merged in the British National Society for Aid to Sick and Wounded in War. In August, 1877, the Council of the latter Society appointed Mr. John Furley, Knight of Justice of the Order and then its Receiver-General, to be its Special

Commissioner in Montenegro for the purpose of enquiring into the condition of the hospitals and their needs. He went out to Cettinge and afterwards visited Nischichs, a fortress in which the Turks were at that time closely besieged. Mr. Furley then made a tour of inspection of all the hospitals and was able to suggest many improvements in the system of transporting the sick and wounded, and to relieve some of their more urgent necessities. The experience he had thus gained enabled him on his return to England to see that the sums of money placed at his disposal by the National Aid Society were expended to the best possible advantage. He was warmly thanked for his services by Prince Nicholas of Montenegro and his ministers, as well as by the delegates of the Russian Red Cross Society. Meanwhile the Stafford House Committee had selected Mr. Kennett Barrington, a Knight of Grace of the Order, as their Commissioner in Turkey. He was responsible for the organization and administration of nine hospitals in European Turkey and Asia Minor, besides field ambulances, a sanitary service and railway transport. Excellent service was also rendered by Dr. Michael Laseron, an Honorary Associate of the Order, who in 1876 was placed in charge of the English Hospital at Belgrade. He afterwards organized a large hospital at Wardin, and another at Rustchuk.

But of all the good work done by members of the Order of St. John during this period, none was more conspicuous than that of Viscountess Strangford. She had been received in the Order as a Lady of Justice in 1873, and took so deep an interest in hospital nursing that she went through a course of training in one of the chief London Hospitals. The historians* of the modern English Order say of her that "there was hardly a single Hospitaller object of importance to which she had not devoted her experiences and her energy, making herself the very pattern of a Dame Chevalière." In 1877 she went out to Turkey with a staff of nurses and opened her hospital at the front in the midst of actual personal danger, and in spite of the privations and difficulties which had to be faced. When the Russians captured

* Bedford and Holbeche, p. 144.

Sofia she was taken prisoner for a time and suffered hardships from which she never fully recovered. Finally she found it necessary to give up her hospital and to send her nurses home. She herself however went to Constantinople and afterwards to Scutari, where she re-opened her hospital in two houses given her by the Sultan. Here she tended the sick and wounded of the Turkish army with devoted care, and when Nouri Pasha, the Surgeon-General, inspected her hospital he declared it to be a model for all to follow. But her works of charity were not restricted to the army. The state of the unhappy refugees, who were living under the most miserable conditions, excited her compassion. Deeply moved by the sufferings of their children, who were dying in large numbers of starvation and typhoid fever, she opened a special home for these poor victims of the war. The devoted work that was done by Lady Strangford will ever be remembered with pride in the Order of St. John, and as an incentive to future generations.

When the war in Egypt broke out in 1882 the Knights of St. John were once more to the front with measures in relief of the suffering that it entailed. At the special request of the Order, Lady Strangford went out to Cairo and there established the Victoria Hospital for the sick and wounded. No distinctions of race or creed were made, and Arab soldiers and British officers alike owed their lives to the tender care and skilful nursing obtained there. On Lady Strangford's return to England Queen Victoria conferred the Royal Red Cross upon her in recognition of her devoted services. Neither must the work of the Order in Malta during that war be overlooked. Immediately after the outbreak of the insurrection at Alexandria the island was inundated with refugees. It was the hottest period of the year, and over 1,200 families, averaging from four to six persons, had taken refuge there. Lady Houlton, a Lady of Justice of the Order, had just introduced its ambulance work in Malta. The ladies of the Order and their friends, assisted by the Mansion House Committee, provided the clothing, bedding and other necessary support for these unfortunate people, for which they received the thanks of the British Govern-

ment. Five years after the Egyptian War, in March, 1887, Lady Strangford died when on a voyage to Port Said, specially undertaken in fulfilment of a promise, and, to use the words of the modern historians* of the Order, "thus closed a life in which everything—money, health and energy—had been freely lavished in the cause of self-sacrifice and devotion to duty, of which she was so striking an example."

Until the outbreak of the South African War, in 1899, the various Red Cross Societies had acted side by side with, but independently of, the military ambulance organization, a system which was always liable to result in overlapping and consequent waste of money and energy. In that year the Central British Red Cross Committee was created, under regulations approved by the Secretary of State for War. This was a course which had long been strenuously advocated by Sir John Furley, at one time Director of the Ambulance Department of the Order, who had devoted a lifetime to the promotion of the Red Cross movement and had served through so many campaigns as a Commissioner for the sick and wounded. In recognition of his services to humanity the honour of knighthood had at that time just been conferred upon him. The Central British Red Cross Committee consisted of representatives of the Order of St. John, acting through its Ambulance Association; of the National Aid Society for the sick and wounded in war, a Society which had been initiated by the Order; of the Army Nursing Reserve; and of the Secretary of State for War. On the outbreak of the war Lord Knutsford, then Director of its Ambulance Department, and Sir John Furley were appointed the representatives of the Order on the Red Cross Committee. By the regulations of that Committee two special branches of work were handed over to the Order of St. John—first, the collection and despatch to the seat of war of ambulance material, and secondly, the organisation of personnel. The latter forms a part of the history of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, and has been dealt with in the preceding chapter.

* Bedford and Holbeche, p. 145.

As regards the collection and despatch of ambulance material, a great firm was generous enough to place its warehouse at the disposal of the Order, and even the services of its staff. A member of the Order, Lt.-Col. R. Holbeche, conducted the correspondence and generally supervised the proceedings, under the advice of Sir Herbert Perrott, Chief Secretary of the Ambulance Association. Vast quantities of material were sent out to South Africa for the use of the sick and wounded, and were distributed for a short time by Colonel Young, and afterwards by Sir John Furley, both of whom at different times acted as Commissioner in that country. The nature of the work done does not lend itself to lengthy or detailed description, but its immense value to the country during that critical period can scarcely be exaggerated. At the end of the war the services of those chiefly concerned received official recognition on July 14th, 1902, when his Royal Highness the Grand Prior at St. James' Palace presented them with the special medal awarded for service in the war and in the despatch of ambulance material and medical comforts for the sick and wounded. Of the work that was done during that period the modern historians* of the Order write: "Foremost stands the name of the Chief Secretary, Sir Herbert Perrott, Bart., whose hereditary connection with the revived Order of St. John has throughout his long period of office induced him to promote its interests with able and unflagging devotion: whatever scheme for the widening of its area of usefulness has been evolved, it has invariably found in him a strenuous supporter and ever vigilant guardian of the interests of the Order."

With the outbreak of the great European War in 1914 the Knights of St. John were compelled to put forth efforts on a scale that had never before been contemplated. But the nature of their work was necessarily so varied, and their beneficent influence was exercised through so many different channels, that it can scarcely be related in one consecutive narrative. Roughly, their work falls into three main classes. Firstly, the provision of personnel to supplement the medical reserves of

* Bedford and Holbeche, p. 180.

the Naval and Military forces of the Crown. This has already been dealt with in the preceding chapter, and forms a part of the history of the St. John Ambulance Brigade. Secondly, the Hospital at Etaples and other Hospitals dependent upon the Order. Thirdly, the work of its Committees and Departments at St. John's Gate, which it is more convenient to deal with first.

As soon as war was declared Sir Herbert Perrott, as Secretary-General of the Order and Chief Secretary of its Ambulance Department, requested the authority of its Executive Officers to take the same measures as had been taken when the South African War broke out, and on August 10th an appeal for funds was made to the public. Meanwhile the War Office had already officially notified the Order that its Ambulance Department formed a part of the Red Cross organisation of Great Britain, and was recognised by the British Government under the terms of the Geneva Convention as a Society to assist the Medical Service in time of War. It soon became evident that it was highly desirable for the Order of St. John and the British Red Cross Society to combine their efforts in order to avoid anything in the nature of competition. Accordingly in October, 1914, a Joint War Committee of the two Societies was formed for the purpose of dealing with the Government, for the delegation of work, appeals for funds, and the publication of financial and other reports. But it was afterwards found more convenient not to delegate work, as had been done during the South African War, but to carry out jointly all work for the sick and wounded that had not been organised before the outbreak of hostilities. Under this arrangement the two Societies were able to work together in complete harmony throughout the war.

The work of this Joint War Committee was on so vast a scale that it is quite impossible to do more than summarize its varied activities. Their magnitude is best revealed by the fact that just before the Armistice the Committee had received since its formation funds to the extent of more than fifteen millions sterling. In the words of its own Report, issued in 1915,* it had

* See Report of Chapter-General, 31st December, 1915, p. 15.

been able " to undertake and carry out activities of unprecedented range and volume, both abroad and at home, for the relief of our own wounded soldiers and sailors, and where necessary for those of our allies." In France it established its headquarters at Rouen, from which all its work on the Western front was organized and directed. By the end of the first year of the war it was maintaining fourteen hospitals, with additional dressing stations and rest stations, twelve stores in various French towns, nine convoys of motor ambulances, three hospital trains, and a large enquiry department for the wounded and missing was actively employed at five different towns; and all this work was continually expanding and increasing as larger funds became available.

In the East the Joint War Committee was no less active, and there Sir Courtauld Thomson was appointed Chief Commissioner for Malta, Egypt, and the Near East. Great depôts of ambulance stores were established at Malta, Alexandria and Salonika, from which at one time 75 hospitals, 50 hospital ships and five hospital trains were being supplied, and during the Gallipoli operations the Committee was maintaining ten hospitals in the Near East. In Mesopotamia a complete convoy of motor ambulances was maintained, with a depôt of ambulance stores at Basra and motor ambulance boats on the Tigris. In East Africa, Italy, Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania and Russia the efforts of the Joint War Committee were equally felt. At home it was engaged in the organization of the supply and distribution of ambulance stores and medical comforts for the sick and wounded, hospitals and convalescent homes were opened, of which the most famous was the King George Hospital at Lambeth, the transport of the sick and wounded from the railway stations to the hospitals was arranged, food and comforts sent out to the Prisoners of War, and the fate of the wounded and the missing investigated. Such was the work of the Joint War Committee of the Knights of St. John and the British Red Cross Society, and so harmonious was the co-operation of these two bodies during the war, and so beneficial and successful its results, that it was felt to be highly desirable that this co-operation should continue in peace time,

and so with this object in view the Joint Council of these two Societies was formed in 1919.

There was also formed early in the war a Central Joint V.A.D. Committee, for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of the Voluntary Aid Detachments found by the Order of St. John, the Territorial Force Associations, and the British Red Cross Society. The control of all Voluntary Aid Detachments was vested by the War Office in this Committee for the duration of the war. By the beginning of 1917 as many as 110,000 men and women were working in these detachments.

Meanwhile directly after the declaration of War a Committee of the Ladies of the Order of St. John was formed. Her Majesty the Queen most graciously consented to be the President, and appointed Adeline Duchess of Bedford to be its Chairman and Lady Perrott to be its Honorary Secretary. The two departments at once organized by this Committee were the Warehouse, for the reception and despatch of clothing and comforts for the wounded, and the 'Trained Nurses' Department. So great was Her Majesty's personal interest in the work of the Order that on August 27th she paid a surprise visit to St. John's Gate, to make herself acquainted with the work of these two departments. On July 20th, 1915, Her Majesty Queen Alexandra visited St. John's Gate and inspected the various departments. The great kindness shown by Her Majesty in speaking to all the workers individually, and the keen interest shown by the Queen in the work, were a great incentive and encouragement to all those who had the honour of being presented to Her Majesty on that occasion.

The Warehouse was organized and administered during the first year by Lady Sloggett as Chairman, and afterwards by Lady Jekyll. Its work was greatly assisted by the West End Depôt, under the management of Lady Maxwell-Lyte, at 35, Park Lane, the ground floor of which had been most generously placed at the disposal of the Ladies' Committee by the Countess Grosvenor. At the end of 1916, as a result of Lady Perrott's visit to the Hospital at Etaples, it was decided to establish a special Supply Depôt for furnishing the enormous quantity of dressings and

bandages required there. For this purpose Lord Beauchamp very generously gave up his house in Belgrave Square for the use of the Committee. This dépôt was formally opened by His Royal Highness the Grand Prior on January 24th, 1917, and Lady Perrott acted as its Honorary Superintendent. It is quite impossible to relate in detail the devoted work that was done by the Ladies of the Order in these dépôts, it can only be summed up in the words of the Annual Report* for 1919, when the work of the Ladies' Committee was finished :—" The Chapter-General is deeply sensible of the very valuable work rendered by one and all of this Committee, and heartily congratulates them on the success of their efforts."

The Trained Nurses' Department proved to be of the greatest value, and eventually Miss Swift, late Matron of Guy's Hospital, was placed in charge as Matron-in-Chief, assisted by a strong selection committee. When the Joint War Committee of the Order of St. John and the British Red Cross Society was formed the selection of trained nurses of both Societies was left in the hands of this department, which remained for some time at St. John's Gate until its final removal to the joint headquarters in Pall Mall. The formation of this strong department of trained nurses was entirely due to the efforts of the Ladies' Committee.

Amongst the greater activities of the Order of St. John was the inauguration of the Indian Soldiers' Fund, as the result of a meeting held at St. John's Gate on October 1st, 1914. Its Chairman was Sir John Hewett, with Colonel Sir Trevredyn Wynne as Vice-Chairman, both of them Knights of Grace of the Order. Amongst the objects served by this fund was the maintenance of the Lady Hardynge Hospital of 500 beds, established in Brockenhurst Park for the use of Indian troops. The fund also arranged for the supply of clothing and comforts for the Indian soldiers in the field as well as for those wounded or sick in hospitals abroad. A special dépôt for the reception of comforts for Indian troops was established at 21, Park Lane, which was most generously lent for the purpose by Lady Scarbrough. The Lady Hardynge Hospital was taken over by the War Office

* Report of Chapter-General, 31st December, 1919, p. 9.

in March, 1916, and in the following August the Indian Branch of the Joint War Committee of the Order of St. John and the British Red Cross Society was formed.

But of all the work that was done by the Knights of St. John during the Great War, nothing appeals more closely to the sentiment and tradition of their Order than the direct relief that was given to the sick and wounded in their hospitals. The most important of these was the Hospital at Etaples, of which we are told* that "those who have inspected it are unstinted in their praise, and it is considered one of the best of its type in France." This hospital owed its inception to the St. John Ambulance Brigade, by whose name it was known; it was staffed by the Brigade and was commanded by their Chief Commissioner, Colonel Sir James Clark, Bart., Knight of Justice of the Order. The Physician-in-Charge was Lieut.-Colonel C. J. Trimble, Knight of Grace and Commissioner of No. 4 District, and the Surgeon-in-Charge was Lieut.-Colonel S. M. Smith, Knight of Grace.

The Hospital was classified as a Base Clearing Hospital, it was opened for the reception of wounded on September 8th, 1915, and was one of the most up-to-date in existence, comprising Pathological, X-Ray, Dental and Electro-Cardiograph Departments. It consisted of two small wards, each of 20 beds for officers, and 16 large wards, each of 30 beds for other ranks. Of the latter 11 wards were reserved for surgical cases and the remainder for medical cases, the officers' wards taking both classes. The Hospital, which was of huts, therefore consisted of 520 beds, but during the operations on the Somme in 1916 an additional 64 beds were brought into use, and during the heavy fighting in the spring of 1918, the total number of beds was increased from 520 to 744, the officers' accommodation being brought up to 88 beds. His Royal Highness the Grand Prior inspected the Hospital during 1916, and on September 17th, 1917, it was visited by H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyle. During 1917 the Chapel was erected with the aid of funds specially collected for the purpose by Lady Perrott, and was

* Report of Chapter-General, December 31st, 1915, p. 32.

dedicated on November 16th by the Bishop of New Westminster. Colonel Sir James Clark relinquished command of the Hospital in July, 1916, and was succeeded by Lieut.-Colonel C. J. Trimble, the Physician-in-Charge, who remained in command until the end of the war.

In May, 1918, occurred those incidents so disgraceful to the honour of the German Army which perhaps caused more indignation in England than anything else during the war—the bombing of the hospitals at Etaples. The reasons for this action, which was grossly offensive to the conscience of the civilized world, are not even yet clearly understood. Presumably it was not due to sheer cruelty, as was at one time supposed. In that case it must have formed part of a deliberate policy of reprisals for some imaginary or accidental injury, or else it must have been due to honest accident, owing to certain Army depots being in that neighbourhood. But the latter is an explanation extremely difficult if not impossible to believe. Whatever the causes may have been, on the night of May 19th German aircraft arrived over the Hospital and dropped a few bombs, doing a certain amount of damage. But this was only a foretaste of the wrath to come, and eleven days later, on the night of May 31st, a most determined attack with bombs and machine-guns was made upon the buildings. One ward received a direct hit and was blown to pieces, six wards were reduced to ruins, and three others severely damaged. Sister Baines, four orderlies and eleven patients were killed outright, whilst two doctors, five sisters, and many orderlies and patients were wounded. It is impossible to speak too highly of the manner in which the Hospital Staff carried out their duties during that terrible night; no more can be said than that it was worthy of the highest traditions of the Venerable Order of St. John of Jerusalem. In recognition of the gallantry of their conduct His Royal Highness the Grand Prior conferred the gold medal of the Order for saving life upon Lieut.-Colonel C. J. Trimble, of whom it was said that during the bombardments “he was constantly passing through the various departments and entrenchments of the Hospital, encouraging the patients and personnel and directing operations.



A WARD IN THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE BRIGADE HOSPITAL AT ETAPLES.

It was largely due to the fact that he displayed such coolness and disregard for his personal safety that so many escaped injury and that no panic occurred." The silver medal was conferred upon two of the medical officers, Captain Frederick Hall and Captain William Wilson, "in recognition of their gallantry, devotion to duty and saving life on the occasion of air raids on the St. John Ambulance Brigade Hospital at Etaples." The bronze medal* was conferred for the same reasons upon three medical officers, nine other ranks and one patient.

As a result of the air raids the military authorities ordered the removal of the Hospital from Etaples to Trouville, or rather the heights above the village of Deauville. The demolition for the purpose of removal began in the middle of June, the cost being met out of a fund raised as the result of a special appeal by the Director of the Ambulance Department of the Order. Most valuable assistance was rendered during the removal by Mr. F. S. Phillips, a Donat of the Order. The newly-erected Hospital received its first convoy of wounded on October 23rd, 1918, and on January 20th, 1919, it was demobilized. The memory of the work that was done by their Hospital during the Great War will always be recalled with pride by the Knights of St. John, whilst the manner in which their duties were carried out by the Hospital Staff is best recorded in the concluding words of Colonel Trimble's Farewell Order†, "You have, by your self-denial and zeal, individually and collectively fulfilled in no uncertain way the mottoes of the ancient Order of St. John, 'pro fide' and 'pro utilitate hominum.' "

To mention all the institutions in England connected with the Order would be quite impossible, but the most important

* The names of those upon whom the bronze medal was conferred were :—

Captain J. Van S. Taylor.	Pte. H. J. Brownbill.
Captain W. E. Coe.	Pte. F. Robbins.
Captain A. D. Brunwin.	Pte. A. Nickells.
Sergt. J. Baron.	Pte. W. Ellis.
Corp. J. E. Johnson.	Pte. H. N. Parker.
Pte. F. H. Pike.	Pte. H. Mould.

Gunner Alfred Lee, a patient.

† See Report of Chapter-General, December 31st, 1918, p. 11.

of them was the St. John V.A.D. Hospital at Southport. It comprised 500 beds at "The Woodlands" and "The Grange," two houses kindly lent for the purpose. The former was opened on September 15th, 1915, and the latter on November 1st, 1915, the medical officer in charge being Dr. W. C. Bentall, an Honorary Associate of the Order. This Hospital finally closed at the end of February, 1919. But besides this there were, just before the Armistice, no less than 246 Auxiliary Hospitals organized under the auspices of the Order.

The last work to be done by the Knights of St. John arising out of the Great War was appropriately enough in the Holy Land, the original home of their Order. At the special request of Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby, the Knights of St. John, acting in conjunction with the Syria and Palestine Relief Fund, sent out to Syria in March, 1919, an organization known as the Syria Relief Unit, to deal with the suffering and lack of all medical provision that was afflicting that country. This Unit was in charge of Lord Lamington and afterwards of Dr. A. Banks as Commissioner. It began work in Damascus and organized a Hospital of 70 beds, a Convalescent Hospital for tubercular patients, dispensaries and workshops. In view of the improved conditions of the country the Syria Relief Unit was recalled at the end of October, 1919.

The modern Knights of St. John can claim with a clear conscience that in the "Exercise of their Knighthood," both in peace and in war, they have been guided by the spirit of the Rule laid down by their first Master, Raymond du Puy, in all that applies to the conditions of the present day.

EXERCISE OF THE KNIGHTHOOD FOR JESUS CHRIST, STATUTES I, 2.

Our Order has ever since its first foundation, been endowed augmented and enriched by the liberality, assistance and favour of the Holy Apostolic See, of Catholic Kings and Princes and of devout Christians, with lands possessions jurisdictions graces privileges and exemptions, that the Knights who should

make their profession in it might adorn their Knighthood with a true Charity, the mother and solid foundation of all virtues, with Hospitality and a sincere attachment to the Faith, and being employed in these various functions, might only seek to distinguish themselves by a course of virtue. Soldiers of Jesus Christ are designed only to fight for His glory, to maintain His worship, to love reverence and preserve justice, to favour, support and defend such as are oppressed, without neglecting the duties of Holy Hospitality.

Thus the Knights Hospitallers, acquitting themselves truly of both these sorts of duties, are to wear on their clothes a cross with eight points, to put them in mind of bearing always in their hearts the Cross of Jesus Christ, adorned with the eight virtues that attend it, and that after a bountiful distribution of alms, they take the sword in hand to attack and demolish the Mahommedans.

When once they have devoted themselves to these Holy exercises, they are admonished invited and animated by the example of the Maccabees, those holy soldiers and martyrs, who often with very small forces, defeated formidable armies by God's assistance. They ought likewise to apply themselves continually to an exact observation of what they promised to God when they made the three Vows of Chastity, Obedience and Poverty, appointed by the Rule, and to the practice of all other moral and divine virtues, so that being inflamed by Charity, they may have no dread on their spirits at taking the sword in hand and exposing themselves with prudence, temperance and fortitude, to all sorts of dangers for the honour of Christ our Saviour and His Holy Cross, and for the defence of justice, widows and orphans. There is no greater charity can be shown than by sacrificing one's life for our friends. This is their duty, their vocation, the manner of life that they have embraced, their justification and their sanctification, that when they end the pilgrimage of this mortal life they may enjoy that eternal reward for which God created them.

APPENDICES.

- A.—On the Classes and Grades of the Order.
- B.—On the Muristan, or Ancient Hospital, at Jerusalem.
- C.—Medals issued by the Grand Priory of England.
- D.—The thanks of the Admiralty and the Army Council after the Great War.



By permission of the Priory for Wales.

H.R.H. EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, K.G.
PRIOR OF WALES.

APPENDIX A.

ON THE CLASSES AND GRADES OF THE ORDER.

THE Custom of the Order, as defined in Statutes II., 2, is as follows :
“ There are three different sorts of Brothers, for some are Knights, others Priests, and the last are Serving Brothers. The Priests are divided into two classes, and are either Conventual Priests or Priests of Obedience. There are likewise two sorts of Serving Brothers, the first are Serving Brothers of Arms, received into the Convent, the second are Serving Brothers de stage or of Office.”

The Conventual Priests are, of course, those doing duty in the Convent at Rhodes or Malta ; the Priests of Obedience are those who, having taken the vows, were not obliged to serve in the Convent, but remained attached to some church of the Order, under the authority of a Grand Prior or Commander. The Serving Brothers of Arms, defined by the Abbé Vertot as “ demi-chevaliers,” are now called Esquires in the modern English Order, and Donats of Justice in the Sovereign Order. The Serving Brothers de stage, whom Vertot speaks of with contempt, in Boisgelin’s days had been raised in status to a lower grade of the class of Donats : they correspond to the Honorary Serving Brothers of the modern English Order, and the Donats of Devotion of the 2nd Class in the Sovereign Order.

The special qualification originally required of a candidate desiring admission as a Knight is also laid down in Statutes II., 2. “ If he has a mind to be a Knight, he must have received the Order of Knighthood from a Catholic Prince qualified to give it, before he can receive the habit, and make his profession ; but if he has not, he must receive it from the person that takes his profession, or from some other Knight of the Order ; and after this is done, he may be admitted to make his vows in the manner above specified.” This ancient custom of the Order was afterwards amplified and made more exclusive by a Statute* of the Grand Master, Hugh de Revel (1258-1277), which states “ Such as desire to be admitted Knights, must prove by authentic evidence that they are born of parents noble both by name and arms.” Such has always been the qualification required of a candidate desiring admission as a Knight, throughout the entire history of the Order, and it was made even more stringent by a Statute of the Grand Master, John d’Homèdes† (1536-1553) stating

* Statutes II., 17.

† Statutes XIX., 317.

"The term Parent, in the proofs of the Brother Knights, takes in the father, mother, grandfather and grandmother on both the father's and mother's side." But the different Tongues were permitted to make their own bye-laws interpreting the phrase "parents noble both by name and arms." The English were content with the phrase in its simple meaning, the other nations by their interpretations rendered it more and more exclusive, the Germans and Bavarians requiring proof of sixteen quarterings, the French requiring eight, the Spanish and Portuguese four, and the Italians four each of 200 years' standing.

Out of this exclusiveness arose the distinction between Knights of Justice and Knights of Grace, a distinction which begins to be of importance in the 16th century. The former are those whose nobility of origin qualified them for admission to that degree, the latter are those who having some defect in the nobility of their origin required a "Grace," or exemption from rule, before it was possible for them to obtain admission. In the words of the Abbé Vertot in his essay on the Government of the Order*: "Time, which is too frequently the author of abuses and irregularities, has introduced a practice of admitting other persons into the rank of Knights of Justice, who are not qualified like them, and who are called Knights of Grace; they being such as being descended of fathers of noble extraction, but of mothers of ignoble or plebeian birth, have endeavoured to throw a veil over this notorious defect by a papal dispensation." The same distinction is observed amongst the non-professed Knights of the Sovereign Order, who consist of Knights of Honour and Devotion, required to produce the ancient proofs of nobility, and Knights of Grace Magistrale.

Once the distinction between Knights of Justice and Knights of Grace was recognized, it tended to become more and more clearly defined. It was only human nature for the former to look askance at the latter, and to resent their advancement to the dignities of the Order. At last by a Statute† of the Grand Master, John de la Cassiere (1572-1581), the Knights of Grace were forbidden to aspire to the Grand Cross, or to be included in the sixteen electors of the Grand Master, and were told to be satisfied with obtaining Commanderies.

The Knights were divided into two classes, the Knights of the Little Cross, which included not only the simple Knights, but also those administering Commanderies, and Knights of the Grand Cross, who are the Bailiffs, the great dignitaries of the Order. These latter were known as Grand Crosses of Justice, when they wore the Grand Cross by virtue of their Bailiwicks and Grand Crosses of Grace, when appointed "per favorem et ad honores."

* A dissertation upon the ancient and modern government of the Religious and Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Article 1.

† Statutes XIII, 4.

Amongst the Sisters of the Order the same distinctions have always prevailed as amongst the Brethren of the Order. A Statute* of the Grand Master, Hugh de Revel (1258-1277), states: "We allow the Priors and the Castellan of Amposta to admit ladies of good life, and born of noble parents in lawful wedlock, to the profession of our Order." To which the Grand Master, Claude de la Sengle (1553-1557), added†: "Provided they shut themselves up and live in monasteries." The Abbé Vertot tells‡ us "before they can be received, they are obliged to give the same proofs of their noble descent as the Knights of Justice." Boisgelin§ speaking of the French Sisters says: "Those called Sisters of Justice must make their proofs in the same manner as the Knights. Those termed Serving Sisters of the Office only require the same proofs as the Serving Brothers of Arms; and the Lay Sisters were employed in the service of the Convent." The Lay Sisters therefore correspond to the Serving Brothers de stage. Boisgelin also tells us that the Prioress wore the Grand Cross made of fine linen, sewn on the gown close to the breast, and the Sisters a small cross on the left side near the heart, with a large white cross on the cloak. He states|| that formerly they wore a red robe with a black mantle, but since the loss of Rhodes their habit had been entirely black as a token of mourning.

APPENDIX B.

ON THE MURISTAN, OR ANCIENT HOSPITAL, AT JERUSALEM.

The ancient Hospital at Jerusalem, the original home of the Order of St. John, was almost in the centre of the city, just south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It occupied a quadrangle 160 yards by 130. John of Wurzburg, writing about 1160, says of it: "Over against the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the opposite side of the way towards the South is a beautiful Church built in honour of St. John the Baptist, annexed to which is a Hospital wherein in various rooms is collected together an enormous multitude of sick people, both men and women, who are tended and restored to health daily at very great expense. When I was there I learned that the whole number of those sick people amounted to 2,000, of whom sometimes in the course of one day and night more than 50

* Statutes II, 26.

† Statutes II, 27.

‡ A Dissertation on the Government. Article I.

§ Ancient and Modern Malta. Appendix IX, pp. 221, 222.

|| Ancient and Modern Malta. Appendix X, p. 229.

are carried out dead, while many other fresh ones keep continuously arriving." Theodoric, writing in 1172, says of it: "Here on the south side of the Church stands the Church and Hospital of John the Baptist. No one can credibly tell another how beautiful its buildings are, how abundantly it is supplied with rooms and beds and other material for the use of poor and sick people, how rich it is in the means of refreshing the poor, and how devotedly it labours to maintain the needy, unless he has the opportunity of seeing it with his own eyes. Indeed we passed through this palace, and were unable to discover the number of sick people lying there, but saw that the beds must exceed 1,000."

When Saladin captured Jerusalem in 1187 he endowed the Mosque of Omar with the property of the Hospitallers, and their great Convent became known as the Muristan, or mad-house, a name said to have been given to it by Saladin himself. For a time old traditions were maintained and it continued to give shelter to the Pilgrims who visited the Holy City. But gradually the site became completely abandoned, according to local traditions because it had been declared accursed by the Moslems, until at last it had become merely an elevated field surrounded by a few ruins, raised some 25 feet above the level of the streets, where shops and arches penetrated, and all traces of its former history lay buried deep beneath the waving corn. In 1869 the Sultan gave the eastern part to the Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards the Emperor Frederick, but the remainder was left unoccupied until the beginning of the present century, when it was taken over by the Greek Convent of the Holy Sepulchre and turned into a speculative building estate.

The Germans divided their half of the Convent from that of the Greeks by a boundary road, they restored the great gateway, and began a series of excavations. In the N.E. corner were discovered the foundations of the first of the three churches contained in the Muristan, that of St. Mary Minor, with its cloister to the south of it, and the Refectory still further south. A new church on the lines of the old Latin church has been built, the foundation-stone having been laid in 1893. The church is dedicated to the Redeemer, and before the war the Lutheran form of service was conducted there. About 30 yards S.W. of St. Mary Minor the foundations of the second church have been found, that of St. Mary Major, which, like the former, probably had a convent attached to it. In the S.W. corner stood the third church, that of St. John the Baptist, or Mar Hanna. This church has two storeys and a crypt, and is one of the oldest in Jerusalem. By the courtesy of the Greek authorities, permission is granted to members of the English Order of St. John to use the little Crypt Church when they wish. Immediately to the north of this church was the great Hospital. The residences of the Knights and the Palace of the Grand Master, together with the stables, were in the S.E. quarter.

What is to be the future of the Muristan is by no means certain; presum-

ably it will not again return into the possession of the Germans. In that case historic sentiment surely demands that it should pass into the keeping of the English Knights of St. John. Under the existing conditions they would appear to be its natural guardians, and to them it would ever be a sacred trust, to be protected with zealous care against the ravages of time or the thoughtless vandalism of ignorance. There could scarcely be a more fitting memorial of the capture of Jerusalem by the British than the presentation to the English Knights of St. John of this, the ancient cradle of their Order.

APPENDIX C.

MEDALS ISSUED BY THE GRAND PRIORY.

The Grand Priory of England has issued the following medals, which are officially authorized to be worn on all occasions on which other decorations and medals are worn.

LIFE SAVING MEDAL.—Authorized by the Statutes of 1871, and actually instituted in 1874. The design was modified after the Charter of 1888. The medal, which is suspended from a black watered ribbon, is given for gallantry in saving life on land, and consists of a circular medallion in gold, silver or bronze, on the obverse of which is the Maltese Cross with the national embellishment surrounded by the inscription: "For Service in the cause of Humanity," and on the reverse a sprig of the plant St. John's wort, with which are entwined scrolls bearing the names "England" and "Jerusalem," and surrounded by the inscription: "Awarded by the Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England."

The medal is only awarded to those who in a conspicuous act of gallantry have endangered their own lives: it is worn by men on the right breast, and by ladies in such manner as may be defined by the Regulations or Bye-laws.

Prior to the Charter of 1888, 34 silver medals, 18 bronze medals, and 2 certificates of honour had been awarded. Since the Charter, 90 silver medals, 220 bronze medals, and 194 certificates of honour have been awarded, whilst the following have received the gold medal:—

- 1906. Dr. Albert von Lecoq.
- 1915. Major Harold Edgar Priestley, C.M.G.
- „ Captain Alan Cunliffe Vidal, D.S.O.
- „ Captain James La Fayette Lauder, D.S.O.
- 1916. Major Philip Claude Tresilian Davy, C.M.G.
- „ Captain Augustus Scott Williams, D.S.O.
- „ Captain Arthur James Brown, D.S.O.
- 1918. Lt.-Col. Charles Joseph Trimble, C.B., C.M.G.
- 1923. Mrs. Lilian Agnes Starr.

SERVICE MEDAL.—Issued in 1898 in silver. It is awarded by the Grand Prior and Chapter-General for conspicuous services to the Order and its Departments, including those who have actively and efficiently served in the St. John Ambulance Brigade for not less than 15 years. The medal is suspended from a black watered silk ribbon with two white stripes. The Regulations of 1912 authorized a clasp for each additional period of five years' service in the St. John Ambulance Brigade.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR MEDAL.—Issued in 1902 in bronze. Awarded for services during the South African War to members of the active service detachments of the St. John Ambulance Brigade who proceeded to South Africa, and for service in connection with their mobilization and with the despatch of ambulance material and medical comforts for the sick and wounded troops in the seat of war. The obverse was designed by Mr. Emil Fuchs, M.V.O., by special command of King Edward VII. The medal is suspended from a black ribbon with white edges.

APPENDIX D.

THE THANKS OF THE ADMIRALTY AND ARMY COUNCIL, AFTER THE GREAT WAR.

The Medical Department,
Admiralty,

March 14th, 1919.

Sir,—I have the honour to thank you, the Officers concerned and the members of the Brigade, for the way in which they have worked to make the R.N.A.S.B.R. such a success during the war. The work of preparation for active service during peace time needed much self-denial, and the results attained by the Sick Berth Reserve Staff reflects the greatest credit on all concerned in that preparation. I sincerely trust that there will be the same loyal co-operation in the future as in the past, so that in case of any further National emergency we may be ready to mobilize an even greater number of Reserve ratings than at the outbreak of hostilities in 1914.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

W. H. NORMAN,

Medical Director-General.

The Chief Commissioner,
St. John Ambulance Brigade.

War Office, London,

March 25th, 1919.

Sir,—I am commanded by the Army Council to acquaint you that they desire to place on record their appreciation of the very valuable services which have been rendered by the St. John Ambulance Brigade and the St. John Ambulance Association throughout the War.

Owing to the formation of the Home Hospital Reserve previous to the War, and by reason of its rapid mobilization in August, 1914, large numbers of the personnel of the Royal Army Medical Corps were set free and were thus enabled to proceed without delay with the original Expeditionary Force to France.

Through their patriotic action in undergoing Training in time of peace, the members of your Association were able to at once take up their duties in the Hospitals of the United Kingdom, and it has been in great measure due to the efficiency with which they have performed these duties, which have been both arduous and continuous, that these Institutions have been successfully carried on.

I am to ask that you will be so good as to convey the thanks of the Council to the members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade and Association for the very valuable services they have rendered.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

B. B. CUBITT.

The Chief Commissioner,

St. John Ambulance Association.

War Office, London,

August 19th, 1919.

Sir,—Now that so many hospitals formed under your Committee are closing and the Staff are being dispersed, I am commanded by the Army Council to convey to the Joint War Committee their appreciation of the inestimable service rendered by the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

I am to say that the Council recognize the high value of the work done by the Organizations and the hospitals formed under their auspices. The preparations made in time of peace and the energy and efficiency displayed when put to the test of war have greatly assisted in the restora-

tion of life and health to the sick and wounded, and have contributed in no small measure to the achievement of victory.

I am to request that you will convey the thanks of the Army Council to the various branches of the two organizations whose members have so unstintingly devoted their resources to the service of the sick and wounded.

I am also to ask that you will convey to all concerned the appreciation of the Council of the most generous and loyal service which they have rendered to the national cause.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

B. B. CUBITT.

The Chairman,

Joint War Committee,

British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John.

